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THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF KUMAON

(Including Dehradun)

[A Comprehensive Account of the Cultural Heritage of Modern Garhwal and Kumaon Divisions]

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WITH A FOREWORD BY
DR. H. D. SANKALIA

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DEDICATED

TO

HER HIGHNESS RAJMATA VIJAYARAJE SCINDIA

A PATRON OF

ART AND LETTERS

RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN
NEW DELHI-4
राष्ट्रपति भवन,
नई दिल्ली-4।

June 17, 1965

I send my best wishes to Dr. K.P. Nautiyal for success in his endeavour to publish his thesis on "The Archaeology of Kumaon Region including Dehra Dun"

(S. Radhakrishnan)

FOREWORD

Regional studies in any subject are seriously lacking in India. When, therefore, a scholar decides to work on a topic such as the Archaeology of Kumaon, a highly neglected part of India, one naturally feels at once elated because little is known of this area. And it is special attention like this that has brought forward the particular regional character of a few north Himalayan districts of Kumaon and Garhwal. Dr. Nautiyal has done the work very thoroughly. Not only he has relied upon a few available written works on the history, culture and traditions of various tribal groups which once inhabited this erea, but undertaken an intensive field work throughout Kumaon and Garhwal; and this alone has brought forth the hidden archaeological wealth of this region.

The entire work is divided into various chapters dealing with architecture, sculpture, iconography numismatics and religion. Thus, it will be apparent to any reader how useful this book is and how very much useful it will be if similar regional works are carried out for different districts of Uttar Pradesh alone which is one of the biggest States in the Indian Union.

Poona
October 1, 1969.

H. D. Sankalia

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I would like to thank the following organisations and individuals for supplying me photographs and permitting me to reproduce a few of them.

National Museum, New Delhi, Plts. 15A, 60.

Archaeological Survey of India, Plts. 29, 30, 42A, 48, 69.

Swamy Pranavanandaji, 64.

Rest of the photographs by author assisted at several occasions by Shri R. C. Ghildiyal.

Plans

Archaeological Survey of India, Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7;

Drawn for me by Sarvashri P. L. Dhyani and Y. P. Dhyani, Figs. 6 & 8.

PREFACE

The work in its present form is the result of my field work in Kumaon, Garhwal and Dehradun during 1961 and 1962. The material incorporated in a thesis was submitted for a Ph. D. degree in Archaeology to the Poona University in May, 1963. While sending for publication, best efforts have been made to recast it thoroughly, though for paucity of any substantial fresh material coming with in all these years, not much has been reinterpreted or added to it.

Till a few years back little was known of the archaeological potentialities of this region. In the field of political history, culture, religion, customs and manners, scholars like E. T. Atkinson, T. D. Gairola and Rev. Oakley rendered an admirable service by writing well documented books. A few independent articles by other eminent writers in recent years did also throw significant light on the archaeological wealth of this region.

Yet more or less, it remained a *terra incognita* in the field of comprehensive archaeological account. Hence a systematic field survey was considered to be a great necessity. The present work, therefore, aspired to fulfil that need.

Since the last two decades, much stress is being placed on the study of regional archaeology in India. With this view in mind, the present study was followed on the line set by Prof. H. D. Sankalia and later on under his guidance by one of his pupils, Dr. Naik. The former worked on Gujarat, while the latter on the Deccan.

This study comprises the account of former five districts, i. e. Nainital, Almora, Garhwal, Tehri Garhwal and Dehradun. Out of them, the first four districts had lately been reorganised under two new Divisions of Kumaon and Uttarākhaṇḍa affiliating to them about seven newly-created districts of Nainital, Almora, Pithoragarh, Garhwal, Chamoli, Uttarkashi and Tehri Garhwal. After this due to further political expediency, a new separate Garhwal Division has been created, having the four districts of Garhwal, Uttarkashi, Chamoli and Tehri Garhwal in its jurisdiction. These political demarcations of boundaries, as they are of recent origin, do not change the natural cultural

set-up of the region. In the modern sense of the term, Kumaon may make a layman understand the three districts of Almora, Nainital and Pithoragarh, which is altogether a misnomer. I have very widely made use of this term in this work. This appeared to me quite a convenient name carrying it to mean the whole cultural region of the northern Himalayas in the present Uttar-Pradesh, which was anciently known as Uttarākhaṇḍa. The idea of two individual entities, i. e. Garhwal and Kumaon may exist for long, yet it must be admitted by a serious student of history that the account of Kumaon without Garhwal or vice versa will mean the separation of the head from a body. I have, therefore, earnestly put up my ideas in this book, making it a basis on actual evidences of history and archaeology. Hence the title or any other term, till specifically mentioned, should not make one to take in the framework of modern interpretations. Dehradun, being in the juxtaposition, offers us a similar type of historical account, though its monuments and inscriptions do carry an elevated national importance vis-a-vis other region.

The book contains nine chapters covering various aspects with elaborate account. In the initial stage of work, emphasis was laid on the prehistoric and protohistoric investigations, but not much headway was achieved in this field. It appears that the region in its early stage of human history could not even offer the minimum basic needs to the Stone Age man. The same may be said also about the succeeding protohistoric period of Indian history. One reason being that the foothill (Bhabar or Tarai) area, even during those days must have been notoriously mosquito-infested due to dampness in climate. In the later period, however, remnants of the Copper Hoard people with a typical ochre-coloured pottery are reported to have been discovered at Bahadrabad (district Saharanpur) 13 km. west of Hardwar and at Rajpur Parsu in the Bijnor District. Both these places are in the closer proximity of the Himalayan foothills. This along with subsequent recent discoveries of the historical period by Dabral are of no mean significance.

In whatever way it was possible for me, I have tried to incorporate almost every fact concerning the development of culture and archaeology from the very beginning to about 12th century A. D. The political history has also received an altogether different treatment in this book, being mainly based on archaeological evidences.

Despite all my efforts to collate the entire data, I must admit that still the whole of the northern Himalayan region of Uttar Pradesh is a treasure

house, which can provide material for many other monographs like this. I feel that the entire Tarai (foothill) region needs a fresh probe. Here due to thick vegetation and dense forestation, even preliminary surveys were sometimes completed with great difficulty. It is therefore expected that future archaeologists will concentrate themselves on this area and solve many problems with the help of new discoveries.

I express my deep sense of gratitude to persons, who have helped and encouraged me in the completion of this work. My great indebtedness is to Prof. S. B. Deo, formerly of the Deccan College, Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona and now Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Nagpur University. He gave me all possible help and guidance during my stay at Poona. He not only initiated me to this subject, but took special pains to train me up in the principles of field archaeology. To Dr. H. D. Sankalia, foremerly Professor of Proto-Indian and Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Deccan College, Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona and now the holder of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fellowship, I owe every thing. He gave me all facilities to enrich my knowledge by including me in many of his prehistoric and protohistoric expeditions. In the final stage of my writing, he was kind enough to go through the manuscript and give me several useful suggestions, despite his numerous preoccupations. In the light of his valuable guidance, I was able to refine and elaborate my ideas. To Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, former President of India, I am deeply beholden for sending his good wishes for the success of this work. I must also thank Prof. K. D. Bajpai, Head of the Department, Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, Saugar University and Shri Krishna Deva, Director, School of Archaeology, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, for their much valuable criticism and suggestions, which I have tried to utilise in this work.

To H. H. Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindia of Gwalior, Shri Bhakta Darshan, Minister of State for Education, Central Government, Shri S. S. Bhandarkar, Vice Chancellor, Jiwaji University, Gwalior and Smt. Shanta Bhandarkar, I am deeply indebted for their time to time patronage and encouragement.

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I am also greatly indebted to my elder brother Shri M. P. Nautiyal, American Embassy, New Delhi and Shri Vachaspati Gairola, Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, without whose sustained help and blessings this work would have not seen the light of day.

My grateful thanks are due to the members of the technical staff in the Deccan College, Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona. Particular mention may be made of Shri R. B. Sapre and Shri P. R. Kulkarni. I also offer my thanks to Sarvashri Vasant Dhumal, D. L. Rajput, H. B. Lohani, M. S. Ambiye and B. S. Paranjape, all of Scindia Museum, Gwalior, for their assistance at various occasions.

I also take this opportunity to thank the then members of the Badrinath Temple Committee and the authorities of the Deccan College, Poona, for their financial assistance.

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Last but not the least, I must not forget my wife Smt. Kanta Nautiyal, whose patience and help rendered me great encouragement in the completion of this work.

In the end, I apologise to those from whom I received help at various occasions and particularly during my field work in Kumaon and Garhwal and whose names cannot be acknowledged individually for shortage of space.

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V. S. 2026 (Chaitra–20)
2nd April, 1969.

K. P. Nautiyal.

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(INCLUDING DEHRADUN)

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY

Position of Kumaon

Physically, Kumaon occupies the extreme north-west corner of northern India. The tract is fairly wide and its boundary is well marked by mountains and rivers. On the east the river Kālī serves as a boundary between Kumaon and Nepal, while on the west the Tons, feeder of the Jamunā, creates a clear-cut demarcation with the Panjab's hilly region. On the north Himalayan ranges separate Kumaon from Tibet, while the southern boundary line is formed by the foothills from the plains of the present Uttar Pradesh.

Kumaon rises[1] from the sub-Siwalik bhābar to a "magnificent series of glacier-garlanded peaks."[2] The outer range of hills rises quickly from the submontane tracts to a height of 700 or 800 feet and on these are situated the hill stations of Naini Tal, Almora, Mussoorie, Chakrata and Lansdown. The interior has a second range of mountains with the Kedārnāth-Badarināth group, Kamet (25, 447) across the Alakanandā river and further east Triśūl, Nandākot and Nandā Devī, the last at 25,.447 feet being the highest peak in India.

Precisely, the whole of the region is formed of hilly as also of the plain parts The foothill region is called as the tarāi or Bhābar in the general use of the term. The accompanying map has a narrow strip showing the plain part. But the noteworthy feature of Dehra Dun and its adjoining territory is that there are small hillocks, which Wadia has named as the outer Himalayas.[3] They are known as the Siwaliks. They "intervene between the lesser Himālayas and the plains. Their width varies from five to thirty miles. They form a system of low foot-hills with an average height of 3000–4000 feet."[4]

The Glaciers

Among the glaciers, the well known are Pindāri, Milam, Shankalpa and Poting. These are easily accessible. The well known among them is the

1. See Map I.
2. Spate, O. H. K., *India and Pakistan*, London, 1954, p. 399.
3. Wadia, D. N., *Geology of India*, London, 1944, p. 9.
4. Ibid.,

Pindāri in the Almora District. There is a belief that once this region had about 360 lakes, some of which have partially or completely dried up.

Rivers

Some of the important rivers of India have their sources in the Kumaon Himalayas.

Ganga :—"The great river of northern India which carries off the drainage of the Southern Himālayas, and also a smaller volume received from the northern and eastern slopes of the Vindhyas."[5] It rises in the Tehri Garhwal in 30° 55′ N. and 79° 7′ E. from an ice cave near Gangotri, 13,800 feet above sea level, where it is known as Bhāgirathī. During its earlier course it receives Jānhavī from the north-west and subsequently the Alakanandā at Rudraprayāg, after which the united stream is called Gangā. It flows torrentially in the hilly region changing the course from time to time and turns south-west to Hardwar. From here it flows south and south-east towards the plains of northern India.

Jamuna (or Yamunā). It is another great river of northern India. It rises like the Gangā in Tehri Garhwal, eight miles west of the lofty mountain, Bandarpūnch (20, 731 feet) in 30° 1′ N. and 78° 27′ E. It passes into the Dūn and receives at Kālsī, the Tons, which at the place is a large stream. Its course now flows south-west for 22 miles reaching finally in the plains of Saharanpur and Muzaffarnagar Districts of Uttar Pradesh, where it irrigates thousands of acres of land.

Ramaganga :—It rises in Kumaon Himalayas (30° 5′ N., 79° 12′ E.).[6] It flows for about ninety miles with a very rapid fall, first through Garhwal, then through Kumaon and after again entering Garhwal it reaches the Bijnor District of U. P.

Besides these important rivers, there are a little less important rivers Known as the Kosī at Ramnagar, Dhelā at Kāshīpur, Alakanandā in Garhwal, Mandākini and Nayār all in Garhwal and Kālī or Shārḍa near Tanakapur in the Almora District.

Lakes

There are several lakes in Kumaon. A few of them, such as the Naini in Naini Tal and Bhim in Bhim Tal are more important. But the Naukuchiyā, Mālwā and Sat, all near Naini Tal and Gohanā in the interior of Garhwal

5. I. G. I., *United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Cal. 1908, Vol. I, p. 161.

6. Ibid., p. 177.

District are also significant. "They are more remarkable for their beautiful scenery than for their size."[7] They vary from 110 to 125 acres in area.

Regarding the origin of these lakes, Wadia remarks: "While a few may be due to differential earth-movements like faulting, others may have been produced by landslips, glaciers, etc."[8]

The name Kumaon and its origin

The word 'Kumaon' in the present usage signifies only a political division of four well known districts of Uttar Pradesh. Skanda-Purāṇa (Manuṣ khaṇḍa) refers to Kumāravana and Kūrmavana, "of which the modern Kumaon is supposed to be a later corruption."[9] Viṣṇu is stated to have incarnated here near Lohāghāt as Kūrma to support the Mandāra mountain, which may very well help us to Surmise about the origin of the word Kūrmavana. Later on the use of the term came to be Kūrmāchal. The view that the word Kumaon was from 'Kumuno,' of the local dialect, which means a cultivated land, does not appear to be convincing. Linguistically, the derivation of Kumaon from Kūrmāchal appears to be more correct

There is no mention of the word 'Kumaon' in any of the inscriptions from Kumaon. The Katyuris did not use even Kūrmāchal or Kūrmavana. The Chands have, however, used Kūrmāchal in their records. It therefore appears that the word Kūrmāchal came to be used frequently only after the 12th century A. D. The use of the word 'Kumaon' is noted for the first time in the historical description of Yāhya bin Ahmad, in which he narrates an episode between Kharagu, the Katehiri chief and the Sultan Firoz Tughlak.[10]

Besides Kūrmāchal, there were several names for the other parts of Kumaon. Particularly the land of Badrināth and Kedārnāth was known by the name of Kedārkhaṇḍ. The other name for the whole tract "embraced by the Ganges to the Kāli is Uttarākhaṇḍ, which may be translated the 'cardinal points' (of the compass)......the macrocosm of the Hinduism."[11] According to traditional distribution the entire Himalaya is divided in five parts i. e. Nepal, Kūrmāchal, Kedāra (Garhwal), Jalandhara (Kangra) and Kashmir.[12]

7. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

8. Wadia, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

9. Nautiyal, K. P., "The Numismatic History of Kumaon", *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 375.

10. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. IV p. 14

11. Newall, D. J. F., *The Highlands of India*, London, 1882, p. 81.

12. Khaṇḍāḥ pañcha Himālayasya Katithā Nepāla-Kūrmāchalo,
Kedāroatha Jalandharoath ruchiraḥ Kashmīr sagñontimhi
See Sankrityayan, Rahul, *Himālaya Parichaya. Garhwal* Alld. 1953, p. 40.

Though the region of Kumaon, according to the above tradition, was divided into two parts, it must be said that the division was created for indicatting two geographical tracts of Kumaon. Kedārakhaṇḍ was adopted after the holy Kedārnāth, while Kūrmāchal after Kūrmavana in eastern Kumaon. But it appears that both Kūrmāchal and Kedārakhaṇḍ were not politically and culturally divided then. Even the Katyuris kept both the tracts united. It is only in the beginning of the 11th century that Kumaon and Garhwal were separated from each other. As will be seen, Kumaon after this division was ruled by the Chands and Garhwal by the Rājās of Garhwal. Nevertheless, the two tracts did not separate even afterwards in the cultural and social set-up.

The land was united again in the beginning of 19th century when Garhwal and Kumaon were captured by the British regime from the Gurkhas of Nepal, who were in possession of it. Under the British rule Garhwal was subdivided into two districts i. e. British Garhwal and Tehri Garhwal, while the region of Kumaon in Naini Tal and Almora districts. All these districts were later on put under the administrative control of the Commissioner of Kumaon. Dehra-Dun, once a part of Garhwal, was scrapped and so were the present Thakurdwāra and other places of the Tarāi region. The four hilly districts later formed a division known as the 'Kumaon Division'. This administrative set-up has remained in vogue till the present times. However, recently a separate division, known as the Uttarākhaṇḍ Division, has been created out of the existing four districts. This has resulted due to political exigency and all the parts bordering Tibet have been put under this division. This comprises three districts, known as the Pithorāgarh, Chamolī and Uttar Kāshī

Thus the ancient Kumaon, having different names of different areas, was a one whole political and cultural entity.

Routes[13]

Kumaon is connected with India by at least five routes in the southern side. The Moradabad-Kashipur line leads to Ramnagar and then to Naini Tal and Almora. The Bareilly-Kathgodam route leads to the foothills of Naini Tal, while the Tanakpur-Champawat road in the South-eastern part links with Pilibhit, the northern district of U. P. The Bijnor-Kotdwara road links Garhwal with the plains of India, while the Hardwar-Rishikesh road connects Dehra Dun and Tehri and a part of Garhwal with the rest of India. In the northern side Kumaon provides passes to Tibet. They are the Milam,

13. See Map. II.

Nīti and Māṇā. Till recently trade was carried by the Bhoṭiyās from Tibet to India through these passes.

Linguistic Limits

Linguistically, the whole region is divided by three Pahāri dialects. Kumaonī is spoken in the districts of Almora and Naiṇi Tal, while in Garhwal and Tehri Garhwal Garhwali is the dialect of people and in the region of Jaunsār–Bāwar there is Jaunsārī. These dialects have a close affinity with each other. Though almost all of them have been derived from Hindi, it is supposed that they are all the offshoots of Rājasthanī.[14] The view appears to be reasonable, but it may be added that besides the influence of Rājasthanī, these dialects are akin to Gujarātī and to some extent to Nepali also. The reason for this similarity is quite obvious. As will be seen subsequently, the region of Gujarat, Rājputānā and Nepal came closer with Kumaon after the 11th century onwards.

Present distribution of Population

The census report[15] presents the population of all the districts of Kumaon region like this. The recently created districts of Uttarkāshi, Chamoli and Pithoragarh show 122, 836, 253, 137 and 263, 579 total population respectively. The other districts i. e. Naini Tal, Almora, Garhwal, Tehri Garhwal and Dehra Dun have 574,320, 633,407, 482,327, 347,736, 429,014 population respectively. As far as the growth rate is concerned, Naini Tal District shows 73. 10 per cent between 1951–61. This is the highest growth rate in the entire U. P. In the other districts the ratio has remained from 20 to 11 per cent.[16]

SECTION II

Geology

To have a preliminary knowledge of the Geology of this region, it should be sub–divided according to its natural potentialities.

Firstly the region of Tarāi, which is at the foot of the Himalayas, is significant. It consists of a zone of recently formed Gangetic alluvium, while the Bhābar is a sloping mass of coarse gravels, still being formed from the debris brought down by mountain's streams. A sub–Himalayan zone of low hills known as the Siwaliks contain deposits of the Upper Tertiary. According

14. Grierson, G. A., *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 184.

15. Census of India, Paper No. I of 1962, p. 48.

16. *C. O. I.*, See Map, p. 385.

to Wadia, "they are nothing else than the alluvial detritus derived from the subaerial waste of the mountains, swept down by their numerous rivers and streams and deposited at their foot."[17] . . .

These Siwaliks are more in the region of Dehra Dun, especially the Southern part of it is full of these low hills. This Siwalik range is composed in its lower and southern most parts with sand-rock and a few thin mammalian fossils.

The lesser Himalayan[18] zone is not a single continuous chain of or range of mountains, "but a series of several more or less parallel, or conveying ranges, intersected by enormous valleys and extensive plateaus...The individual ranges generally present a steep slope towards the plains of India."[19] Particularly the "western Himalayas of the Panjab and Kumaon rise gradually from the plains by the intervention of many ranges of lesser attitudes, their peaks of everlasting snows are more than a hundred miles distant, hidden from view by the mid Himalayan ranges to the inhabitants of the plains."[20]

The Great Himalaya consists of the innermost line of high ranges, rising above the limit of perpetual snow. The highest is the Nandā Devī peak in this class (25, 645 feet). Then the snow-bound peak of Badarināth is about 23, 190 feet and Gangotrī about 21, 700 feet.

The Lesser or Middle Himalayas together with the Great Himalaya are "composed of crystalline and metamorphic rocks-granites, gneisses and schists with unfossiliferous sedimentary deposits of very ancient (Purāṇa) age."[21]

Ice Age in the Himalayas

The areas of Kumaon and Garhwal are not explored, as far as the evidence of Ice Age is concerned. On the other hand the valleys of Kashmir and Kangra have been examined to some extent and a useful evidence of pleistocene geology has come to us. Regarding Kumaon, however, it is believed that the small lakes and rock-basins owe their origin in the action of glaciers now no longer existing.[22] This along with some other fresh data may be

17. Wadia, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

18. Wadia after Burrad has classified the Himalayan system into four sections. This Lesser Himalayan Zone contains series of ranges closely related to the Great Himalaya, but they are comparatively of less elevation; seldom rising much above 12,000–15,000 feet. See Wadia, *Ibid.*, p. 9.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

brought to light in future by a detailed survey and exploration of the Kumaon Himalayas.

Prehistory

The prehistory of this region yet remains unknown to us. It may be either due to the recent formation of the rivers or the non-availability of suitable raw material or for want of sufficient search.

The region remains more or less unexplored in the field of prehistory. The present author ventured a little in this direction and explored the rivers Kosi at Ramanagar (Nainital District) and the Jamunā and Tons at Kālsī (Dehra Dun District). At the latter place the river terrace exhibits an interesting sequence. It has at least four phases of deposition. The first is a rock, which is covered by thick gravel containing boulders. On it is a fine cemented gravel finally covered by the silt.

Though no prehistoric tools could be picked up from here, a later report[23] says about the discovery of a few hand axes and choppers in a rolled condition. The discovery is significant, but a definiteness cannot be ventured unless the tools are examined thoroughly

23. *I. A. R.*, 1962-63, p. VI-16.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

The region of Kumaon lying in the northmost corner of India is bounded on the north-east by Tibet; on the south-east by Nepal; on the south-west by the districts of Saharanpur, Moradabad and Bareilly in Uttar Pradesh and on the north-west by the Sirmur, Rawain, Taroch and Jubbal of the Punjab. The boundary directed for the aforesaid region signifies that the tract has a considerably wide extension. As noted earlier, the present Kumaon had once included the region of Dehra Dun as well. It was only in the beginning of the present century that it got off from Kumaon. It can thus be surmised that the ancient Kūrmāchala comprised the entire belt from river Kālī in the east to Tons in the west; the Niti pass or a little above upto the Sutlej in the north and Thākurdwara of the present Moradabad District in the south. For quite a long time this entire tract seemed to have retained perfect homogeneity in the political, cultural and social life of the people. The administrative units in the present years, however, show many marked diversities.

Survey of work regarding the history of Kumaon

The history of the region is more or less a pack of disjointed facts. The actual records are sporadic and the early part of the history is yet a vexed problem. The pioneering work of putting together the split facts of history was done by E. T. Atkinson, whose services in this direction remain unrivalled. Known as the *Himalayan Districts of the North-west Provinces of India* and published in 1884, the whole compendium was the result of his thorugh study. Since then many historians and archaeologists have brought forth new data and fresh interpretations Fuhrer's *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions* (1891) enriched our knowledge by throwing light on many fresh and unknown inscriptions and antiquities. Besides, some inscriptions were published by various scholars, as for instance, the Bāgeśwar stone inscriptian,[1] the Lākhāmaṇḍal inscription[2] and the Tālcśvar Copper plate grants.[3] Records like the

1. Chakravartti, Saroda Prasad, 'The Bāgeśwar Inscription', *J. A. S. B.*, Vol VII, p. 1056.
2. Buhler, G., 'The Praśasti of the Temple of Lākhāmaṇḍal', *E. I.*, Vol. 1, p. 12.
3 Gupte, Y. R., 'Two Tāleśvar Copper Plate Grants', *E. I.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 109-121.

Paṇḍukeśvar plates[4] have thrown very significant light on the political condition of the region posterior to the 6th-7th century. These inscriptions created a new stimulus among the historians interested in the region. And hence, several writers have later on contributed articles in the light of these fresh discoveries about the history and archaeology of this area. The work of outstanding merit was done by J. C. Powell Price, T. D. Gairola, N. N. Misra and H. Goetz through their valuable articles on history, epigraphy, numismatics and other allied subjects. Apart from it, other scholars like Rahul Sankrityayan,[5] B. D. Pande,[6] H. K. Raturi,[7] and S. P. Dabral[8] produced works in Hindi. But almost all of these writers selected a particular area and emphasised on the historical aspects based mainly on the existing traditions and folk-lores. None of them tried to study the history of the entire region in a wider perspective. Among all of them the work of Rahul Sankrityayan, though full of many generalisations, ranks first in order of merit. Being a recent work, it contains some observations on the latest discoveries in Kumaon archaeology. But at the same time the presence of many unwarranted statements limit its value.

Nature of the sources

The sources for the history of Kumaon are thus scanty. Whatever is available is in a most disconnected state. The reason for it is that we have got very little material to work upon and the early part of Kumaon history lacks corroborative evidence. As such it is based mostly on parables and mythological traditions.

What was the actual position of this region during the Vedic time is mostly a matter of speculation. Probably it was very sparsely inhabited by some indigenous people who might have been far away from the pale of Vedic civilization.

In the Epics and some other Purāṇas, there are stray references to this part of the country. They give us some ideas about the history of this period.

We are not in a position to fix the date of Aryan immigration to this part of the country. Though there is an account in the Mahābhārata of their arrival in the land of Gaṅgā and Jamunā. We cannot definitely say whether they

4. Kielhorn, F., 'Paṇḍukeśvar Plate of Lalitaśūradeva', *I. A.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 177-184 and Sircar, D. C., 'Three Plates from Pāṇḍukeśvar', *E. I.*, Vol. XXXI, pt. VI and VII, pp. 277-289.

5. Sankrityayan, Rahul, *Himālaya Parichaya*, Pt. I *Garhwal* and Pt. II *Kumaon*.

6. Pande, B. D., *Kumaon kā Itihās*.

7. Raturi, H. K., *Garhwal kā Itihās*.

8. Dabral, S. P., *Uttarākhaṇḍa*, 1960-61.

actually reached to some parts of Kumaon as early as this period. We can, however, rely on other testimony about the Kirātas, who according to it, inhabited the region around the sources of these two rivers.[9]

The Khasias or Khasas come next in the field of discussion. The Mahābhārata does mention them and assigns them the region near the upper waters of the Jamunā and Gaṅgā. Pliny also described the Casiri, whom many historians have identified with the Khasas.[10] Herodotus has also an account of "Indians who border on the city of Kaspatyrus."[11] The first written record of some value throwing a stray light, though quite indirect, is the Kālsi Rock Edicts of Aśoka which contains a reference to the border people (Savata vijitasi Devānaṁpiyasā piyadasiśa lājine yecha antā).[12]

Ptolemy also refers to a group of people, who may be identified with the Kuliṇḍas of the Mahābhārata[13]. Cunningham has further studied the problem of the Kuṇindas and enunciated interesting theories.[14] Hodgson has, however, propounded about them differently.[15] Then come the Yaudheyas, who are known only through their coins,

Archaeological sources

What are the archaeological remains in Kumaon, which directly or indirectly have bearing on the history of the region ? Under this head we can take the coins, epigraphs and some other available materials, like the pottery.

The first one coins, found at various places of Kumaon, are significant. They belong to the Kuṇindas, Yaudheyas and the Kuṣāṇas. There are divergent opinions about the extent of the territories of these dynasties. Scholars were not prepared to accept that these dynasties had anything to do with Kumaon. Later discoveries at several places of Kumaon have confirmed the view that all the aforesaid dynasties and specially the two former ones had connection with

9. Gandharvān Kinnarān Yakshān Rakṣovidyādharoragīn
Kalāpagrāmakānśchaiva Tathā Kimpuruṣān Khasīna
Kirātānśchcha Pulindaṅshcha Kurūn Sabhaitanapi
...Yetān Janapadānīryān Gaṅgā Bhāvayate Subhān
from Brahamīṇḍa, Matsva and Vāyu Purānas. See Sircar, D. C., *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Madiaeval India*–1960, pp. 62–64.

10. Atkinson, F.T., The Himalayan District of the North-Western Provinces of India, 1884, p. 353.

11. Herodotus, Vol. III, p. 102.

12. Hultzsch, E., *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Vol. I–1925, p 28, L–4.

13. "It is curious that the form given by Ptolemy (VII–1–42) Kulindri (nē) presents the same alteration between Kuṇinda and Kulinda." See Moti Chandra, *Geographical and Economic Studies of Aupāyanaparva of Mahābhārata*, p. 77.

14. Cunningham, A., *A. S. I.*, Rep. Vol. XIV, p. 126.

15. Hodgson, *The Language, Literature and Religion of Nepal*, p. 37.

the entire tract.[16] In fact, the study of numismatic discoveries has been quite helpful in filling up the gap of about four hundred years in Kumaon history.

Next to it, the epigraphs are important for the construction of history. Unfortunately nothing has survived which may reflect on the early period of Kumaon history. The condition of Kumaon during the Gupta period is also unknown to us. The solitary reference in the A. P. I. of Samudragupta to the Kartripura has been taken by scholars as to refer to Kārttikeyapura—a one time capital of the Katyūri rulers of this region The allusion to the Kartripura signifies that there was some historical dynasty which gave allegiance to the Gupta monarch. Direct inscriptional evidence from Kumon is available only after the 6th century A. D., because an earlier record from Jagatgrām, Dehra Dun District belonging to about the 3rd century A. D., hardly contributes anything important to the history of this region.

Pottery as a basis of precise history cannot be taken as a most convincing category of evidence. Nevertheless, the occurrence of the Painted Grey Ware and the Northern Black Polished Ware at Thākurdwārā and Kāshīpur[17] points to the existence of some early settlements—as far back as about the beginning of the first millennium B. C.—in and around these areas in Kumaon.

Literary Evidence

Hieun—Tsang, the Chinese traveller, supplies us the description of some of the Kingdoms of Kumaon flourishing during his visit. His account is highly valuable in so far as the people and places of Kumaon[18] are concerned. Apart from it, we have references in the Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara to the Kārttikeyanagara, which was ruled by a Khasa ruler and who had to fight with a king Śarmagupta.[19] The detailed description regarding this statement will be taken up in the later pages. However, it is essential here to identify this Kārttikeyanagara with the Kārttikeyapura of Kumaon.

Historical Sketch

The Aryan migration and the condition of Kumaon

Due to paucity of substantial evidence, it is difficult to say anything about the condition of Kumaon during the Aryan's immigration. Some writers

16. Nautiyal, K. P., *op. cit.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 375–386.
17. *I. A. R.*, 1960–61, p. 67.
18. See Beal, Samuel, *Buddhist Records of the Western* World, Vol. I–1906, pp 190–200.
19. Rājaśekhara, Kāvyamīmāṁsā, p. 47, l. 9 to 12., Baroda, 1934.

like Prof. Benfey and Weber[20] propounded that the migration of Aryan stock took place through the region of Kumaon. Later on, some scholars have, however, abandoned the view due to the availability of sufficient fresh material. Recently, Robert Shafer, an American scholar, has reconstructed the migration route of the Aryans quite differently. He remarks, "their homeland was within the Meru lake, i. e. Mānasa-sarovara region. They were probably pushed out of there by some more powerful people. Some migrated northwest down the upper Indus ; and then the Iranians drove on into Iran, but left some behind as the Śakas, Kāmbojas, Pahlavas, and perhaps some Sogdins ; the Dardic Kaśmiras, and some of the Khasas (some having been left behind in the Himalayas of Nepal and Kumaon). Some of the Indo-Aryans may have followed this route and remained behind in the northwest, but there is very little to indicate it."[21]

The above estimate, though very interesting, is based more on the testimony of the Purāṇas Recent archaeological discoveries are proving that the route of migration was different from it. Hence, there is every likelihood that this proposition may be outrightly disproved one day.

What was the condition of Kumaon during this period ? This is an important question for which any finality cannot be had at present. However, a probable likelihood seems to be that the region was inhabited by several tribal groups, aboriginal as well as those migrated from outside—known through traditions and stray facts in religious literature as the Khasas, Kirātas, Rājyakirātrs, Śakas, Nāgas and Hūṇas. The last named tribe is more doubtful, though Atkinson connected it with the Kumaon Himalayas. There are some objections against his assumption. The emergence of Hūṇas in the history of India is itself an episode of later period. Therefore, it cannot be accepted that they were flourishing in Kumaon with the other tribal groups of early times. Similar to the Hūṇas, the presence of the Śakas during this period is doubtful. It appears that the term Śaka is a misnomer for the Khasa tribe as far as the early history of Kumaon is concerned.

Excepting these two tribes, the claims of the rest cannot be challenged. All of them have received serious attention by writers like Atkinson and Sylvain Levi. A separate consideration of each of them is, therefore, necessary since they are associated with the very dawn of Kumaon history.

20. Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, p. 227.

21. Shafer, Robert, *Ethnography of Ancient India*, p. 43, Germany-1954.

Kirātas

It appears that the Nāgas, Kirātas and Khasas migrated at the same time when the Aryan movement took place. The earliest notices regarding the Kirātas bring them as far westward as the Jamunā in the first century. Local tradition in Nepal connects them with the very start of its history.[22] A list of some names of this race occurs in the local Nepalese history,[23] which is very similar, according to Atkinson, to the fourteen rulers attributed to the Khasa race in Kālī Kumaon. "Indeed the community in manners and religion between the defferent divisions of the snake-worshipping tribes would alone show a common origin."[24] The aforesaid observation of Atkinson is undoubtedly valuable. But taking into consideration the facts supplied by the Purāṇas, and especially by the Mahābhārata, we may observe that despite the affinity in customs and religion, these two tribes—Khasas and Kirātas—were two separate peoples of Kumaon. In the Mahābhārta the Kirātas are known as a people dwelling around the sources of the Gangā and the Jamunā. It separately refers to the Khasas as dwellers of the Himalayan region. Ptolemy also places the country of the Kirātas at the mouth of the Ganges; it "is from them that one can obtain the best quality of malabathron."[25] It may thus be concluded that the Kirātas were a widely spread tribe inhabiting the hilly region of Kumaon, a part of Tibet, the entire Tarai and the valley of Nepal. The influence of these people did not encompass the major part of the Indian plains. And the statement that the new racial and culture-language element came into India in about the middle of the first millennium B. C, seems to be correct. Chatterji observes: "the Mangoloid Sino-Tibetan speakers,...touched only the fringe of India in the north and the north-east ; and their influence was but local, and not of much significance."[26]

The traces of the Kirātas in the Kumaon region are more or less absent at present. The assumption that the present Tangaṇi of the Garhwal District can be associated with the Kirātas[27] remains simply a guess, which cannot be substantiated by facts.

Rājya-Kirātas

Atkinson connecting "the Kirātas of somewhat Tibetan physique and the Khasas of equally pronounced Aryan form and habits,"[28] contented that the

22. Regmi, D. R., *Ancient Nepal*, p. 16.
23. Wright, Daniel, *History of Nepal*, pp. 89 and 106.
24. Atkinson, E. T., op. cit., p. 364.
25. Regmi, D. R., *Loc. cit.*
26. Chatterji, S. K., *The Vedic* Age, p. 167.
77. Sankrityayan, Rahul, op. cit., p. 51.
28. Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, p. 365.

Rājis of Askot in Kumon may probably represent the intermixture of these two tribes. In the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* the Rājya-Kirātas are placed in the region between Ḍāmaravana and China.[29] This Ḍāmaravana (or Āmravana)[30] has been identified by Atkinson with the present Jāgeśvar. However, the above identification cannot be easily accepted. The region of Jāgeśvar is known in the Purāṇas as Dāruvana[31] and not Ḍāmaravana or Āmravana. The more probable hypothesis, therefore, may be that these Rājis occupied some part of the Kumaon region bordering the Tibet. Mr. Traill, the first Commissioner of Kumaon, stated long back that these Rājis "represent themselves as descendants of one of the aboriginal princes of Kumaon who with his family fled to the jungles to escape the destruction threatened by an usurper."[32] He further identified them with the present day black-complexioned and curly-haired Ḍoms or Harijans of Kumaon Prof. Ritter supported the conjecture and further stated that a "negro race may have been among the aboriginal inhabitants of the Himalaya."[33] Dr. Pritchard conjectured "that the Rājis would be found to resemble the other numerous aboriginal tribes found along the Himalayan border, all possessing the physical character of the Bhotiyas in general and very unlike the Doms."[34] And finally Dr. Latham identifies them with the Chepang of Nepal.

The above observations by various authors contradict each other. The contention of Traill that the Rājis had affinity with the Ḍoms of Kumaon is wholly baseless. The investigation of Atkinson in this direction is most valuable. He states that the present Rājis of Kumaon do not allow the Ḍoms to enter their dwellings. They profess Hinduism like the other caste Hindus.[35] This very fact shows that they were far from the so-called untouchables. The conjectures of Pritchard and Latham, though not of much significance, can be accepted to some degrees. It appears that the Rājis of Askot in Almora were the descendants of the Rājya-Kirātas of the Purāṇas, who dwelt in the region of Doṭī in Nepal and some parts of Kumaon bordering the Tibet. They had independent entity from the Khasas and the Kirātas. It seems very likely that the

29. Prahmapura Dārpa Dāmaravana rājya Kirāta Chīna Kauniṇḍāḥ.. Khasa Ghoṣa Kuchikākhyāḥ *Bṛahat Saṁhitā*-15-30.

30. Atkinson reads it Āmravana.

31. In Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa it is stated to have been situated on the Himalayan crest. See Br. II. 27. 2-90.

32. Traill, "Report on Kumaon", *As. Res.*, Vol. XVI, p. 150.

33. Atkinson, E. T., *op, cit.*,p. 366.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibed.*

Rājis, who were known as the Rājya-Kirātas in the Purāṇic testimony were the aboriginals of Kumaon and its borderland. They were probably flourishing in the aforesaid region when the migration of the Khasas, Kirātas and other tribes took place in Kumaon. We do not know what their religion was in the early period of their history. However, it can be surmised that they probably used to worship nature and had some sort of "their own peculiar gods."[36] But from Atkinson's investigation it is clear that the Rājis practised Hinduism. This is quite obvious that the Rājis after some passage of time might have accepted the Hindu customs and manners after forsaking their own.

Khasas

The Khasas remain a subject of interest in the history of Kumaon region. They seem to have occupied the major portion of Kumaon, where their progress remained unabated for a considerable period.

The Khasas have been variously described in the literary texts. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* states that the Khasā is the daughter of Dakśa, wife of Kāśyapa[37] and mother of Yakṣas and Rākṣasas.[38] In the *Mahābhārata* Khasas do not occur in the great list, but they are mentioned in the Karṇa-Parvan as living in the Punjab, between the Āraṭṭas and Vasātis. Pliny mentions about the Khasas in the first century and further describes that "after the Attacori we find the nations of the Phuri and Tachori and in the interiors the Casiri of Indian race who look towards the Scythians."[39] This statement of Pliny, though valuable, is probably misinterpreted due to a simple reason of the similarities of the terms Casiri and Khasa. And it is very certain as Powell Price says that "we cannot place too much reliance on their (Casiri) connection with Khasas or the modern Khasias."[40] Herodotus has an interesting account of the "Indians who border on the city of Kaspatyarus. These people dwell northward of all the rest of the Indians and from them men are sent forth who go to procure gold."[41] In the *Mahābhārata,* the Khasas are mentioned among the northern tribes who brought presents to Yudhiṣṭhira and among them was "paipīlika or ant gold." The paipīlika gold was known so because it was collected by ants (pipīlikā).

36. *Ibid.*

37. Kaśyapasyatubhāry ya stāsām namāni me śṛṇu
Aditir ditir dānaschaivāriṣṭācha surasā khasā
Viṣṇu Purāṇa Book I Adhyāya 15, p. 128.

38. According to Vāyu Purāṇa, Khasā had two sons Yakṣa and Rākṣasa, severally the progenitors of those beings. See wilson, H. H., Trans. Viṣṇu Purāṇa, p. 150, n 20.

39. Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, p, 353.

40. Powell Price, 'The Early History of Kumaon,' *J. U. P. H. S.*, Vol. IV, Pt. II, p. 6.

41. Herodotus, Vol. III, p. 102.

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This refers significantly to the trade in gold dust with the miners of Tibet by the Khasas who probably were the chief carriers or distributors and who appear to have occupied the borderland of Kumaon.

Who were the Khasas? The question is quite obvious. The subject has received attention of historians, ethnologists and anthropologists. Therefore, there are many divergent views regarding their origin, later history and areas of occupation. The consensus of opinions is that they were Aryans in customs and religion. Atkinson believes that the "Khasas were a very powerful race like the Nāgas who came at a very early period from that 'officina gentium' central Asia and hava left their name in Kashmir and recognizable colonies at the present day in the hills from Kashmir to Nepal and in various parts of the plains and that the Khasiyas of Kumaon are of the same race."[42] It appears very convincing that the Khasas were a branch of the Aryan stock who in the later course occupied Kumaon and some other hilly regions of Northern India gradually. As already stated, though they were related to the Aryans, their continuous habitation in the hilly regions, where due to unsuitable climatic conditions the strict observance of the ceremonial usages was not possible, they came down to the degraded position. Atkinson very aptly refutes the view of some writers that the Kumaon Khasas are people of mixed Tibetan and Indian race. He further states that it can be accepted if the Khasas of Nepal were less exposed to Aryan influence or may have been modified by admixture with Tibetan tribes. It cannot, however, be said about the Kumaon Khasas. They "in physiognomy and form are as purely an Aryan race as any in the plains of northern India."[43]

The remnants of this tribe are remarkably seen among the Khasas of Jaunsār-Bāwar area. Speaking about them Majumdar points out that "the Khasas are either Rajputs or Brahmins......Although the Khasas are tribal people in India, they belong either to the Proto-Australoid or to the Mongoloid racial stock. The Khasas, even if they have been diluted in blood by mixture with the Mongoloids of the upper Himalaya or with the Doms of the lower region, belong to the Mediterranean stock, and some among them represent the true Mediterranean features."[44]

The Khasas were probably a branch of the Aryan stock. They migrated to the hilly regions of India abandoning gradually most of their old practices and adopting the local customs. And they probably lost their superiority

42. Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, p. 379.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 380.

44. Majumdar, D. N., *Races and Cultures of India*, p. 143.

in the later ages due to miscegenation and intermixture with the aboriginals.[45] At any rate, this characteristic feature is applicable to Kumaon Khasas.

Another consideration of prime importance is held about their ancestral or original home before their migration to the hilly regions of India. It has already been proved that the Khasas had a strong Aryan affinity. It may not, therefore, be erroneous to presume that the Khasas branched off from their ancestral home, which was probably in some part of central Asia, and took a different route for India. Atkinson in his excellent research propounded that "Kāshkāra occurs amongst the countries to which the ancient Khasa race has given a name."[46] This name is known for the states in the upper Kunar valley, which are named as Chitral, Yassan and Mastuj after their principal towns. He says further: "they (Khasas) belong to a nation which has left its name in various parts of the Himalaya, and that they are one in origin with the tribes of the western Himalaya.........This nation in course of time and chiefly from political causes and the intrusion of other tribes was broken up into a number of separate peoples, some of whom had become Muhammadans, some Buddhists and others again-as in these hills where the facility of communication with the plains and the existence of the sacred shrines in their midst rendered the people peculiarly open to Brahmanical influence—became Hindus in religion, customs and speech."[47]

At the time of their movement, the Khasas seem to have scattered widely. Almost all the hilly regions of northern India, such as Kumaon, Kashmir, Kangra and Kulu were probably occupied by them in the first instance. It seems that they reached Nepal and even penetrated Tibet.

One cannot point out the surviving remnants of the pure Khasa culture in any part of India. Nevertheless, the area of Jaunsār-Bāwar, to which we have already made a reference, manifestly represents this culture. Some of the inhabitants of this place are still known as Khasas. Their physical features and build-up even now suggest that they had affinity with the Aryans.

Regarding some tombs of large size found at Dwārahāt and Bāgeśwar scholars like Rahul Sankrityayan and others thought that they belonged to the Khasas. But some earlier writers like Atkinson identified them as the Mughal

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45. Manu as well as the Mahābhārata are clear in their expositions that the Kshatriya tribes, viz. Pauṇḍrakas, Oḍras, Draviḍas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Chīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khasas became Vrishalas or outcastes due to extinction of sacred rites and having no intercourse with Brahmins. See Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, p. 282.

46. *Ibid*, p. 384.

47. *Ibid*, p. 440.

tombs. Nevertheless, Rahul Sankrityayan in support of his theory stated that a few similar tombs at Lippa in Tibet were examined by him and he found that there were a few earthen utensils inside the tombs just to keep wine and food for the dead body. He further contented that this very nature of the tombs shows that they were not in accordance with the Islamic practice, and hence they can be ascribed to the Khasas.[48] Cunningham, however, propounded a different theory by stating that these are taken to be "the monuments of the ancient Kuṇindas or Kunets, before they were driven from Dwārahāt to Joshīmaṭh."[49] Immediately after it he changed his views and stated that they were possibly of "the Khasas and not of the Kunets."[50]

These views are valuable. But nothing definite can be stated unless the tombs of Dwārahāt and Bāgeśwar are exposed for thorough examination.[51]

Kunets—the present inhabitants of Simla, Kangra, Kulu and other places are identified by some scholars with the Khasas. But the statement of Hodgson seems to be correct that......the Kunets are "clearly of mixed breed, aboriginal Tartars by the mothers' side, but Aryans by the father."[52] It shows that the Kunets like the Khasas were also another occupants of these hilly regions before the great Aryan migration took place to these areas.

The period of Khasas in India and particularly in the Kumaon region cannot be in any way recorded with precision. Whatever has been written about them is based more on conjectures worked out after stray references of Greek writers and on the testimonies of Purāṇic literature. One notable feature, however, is quite significant that the Khasas as a whole-emerging out of a powerful tribe—played a very interesting role in the later history of Kumaon.

Kumaon during the time of the Buddha and after

We cannot say without definite evidence about the state of affairs in

48. Sankrityayan, Rahul, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
49. Cunningham, Alexander, *A. S. I.*, "Report of a tour in the Punjab in 1878-79," Vol. XIV, p. 127.
50. *Ibid.*
51. A. H. Francke puts forth a few observations after examinig some of the graves at Leh in Tibet. He says, "The empire was a Tibetan one, according to our Chineses authorities, and it therefore appears strange that the skulls of the Leh grave are not those of Tibetans, but of Aryans..... The value of grave finds lies in this that they afford us a glimpse of the general state of civilizasion which prevailed in this empire." The date given by the author to these graves is between 1 and 500 A. D However, this is an important indication to this direction that the graves were not of the Aryans, but of the Khasas, who probably penetrated as far as Tibet. See Francke, A. H., *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, p. 74.
52. Hodgson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 37.

Komaon during the time of Buddha. Powell Price conjectured that Kumaon was probably under the kingdom of Kośala, which had extended its sway as far as Nepal.[53] The above speculation without any solid evidence cannot be taken to be convincing. Even after the Buddha the history of this region is shrouded in obscurity. During Alexander's invasion, Arian, the historian of that adventure, tells us nothing about Kumaon and attention is chiefly directed to the Punjab. Therefore, Powell Price thought it "probable that the fringes of the Himalayas at this period were occupied by innumerable petty clans subject apparently to no one head and possibly many were by now of Tibeto-Chinese origin."[54] So far as the first part of the observation is concerned, it can be taken as correct, since the complete unification of Kumaon under one rule is a later phase, to wit, c. 7th century A. D. The second part of his observation can, however, be brushed aside. It is probable that the region of Kumaon had some trade relations with Tibet and with some parts of China. Even during the present century, the Tibetans used to bring hand-made articles with them and barter in India for salt and other necessary commodities. Excepting this, we cannot trace any other affinity in between Kumaon and Tibet or China.

The Nandas

It has been suggested that the Nandas, who ruled in Magadha before the Mauryas, came from a tribe of Nandas who lived near the Rāmgaṅgā between the Ganges and the Kosī rivers in Kumaon. This can be taken as an interesting speculation, but speculation only. The corroborative evidence is lacking. Therefore, no reliance can be put on it. Apart from it, the geographical conditions might have kept Kumaon isolated from the rest of the country.

The Mauryan Period

During the period of Chandragupta Maurya also Kumaon seems to have remained isolated. And it is fairly certain that Aśoka did not include it in his empire. The Rock Edicts at Kālsī in Dehra Dun District suggests that it was here possibly the limit of his empire. In one of the lines the description of the border people might be taken as a reference to the people of Kumaon as well. Though there is no specific mention about the region of Kumaon, an assumption may be forwarded that the inhabitants of Kumaon were probably treated by Aśoka as one among the several border peoples mentioned in the inscription.[55] It appears that these border people were independent, excepting that they had to pay a nominal tribute to the Mauryan Emperor.

53. Powell Price, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

54. *Ibid.*

55. Hultzsch, E., *op. cit.*, p. 28, L. 4.

After Aśoka, however, a great change prevailed in this part of the country. It was no more a land of isolation. And the cultural infusion started with the gradual movement of people from the plains to the hilly regions. Powell Price rightly remarks that "the belt of ruined cities and monasteries of a Buddhist civilization which lie all along the foothills from the Gandak to the Dun and beyond seem to point to a great change after the time of Aśoka"[56] The forests of Tarai seem to have changed since then. They were not probably marshy, thick and infested with wild beasts then. And if they are thoroughly combed, they may substantiate the speculation of the above author.

We do not have any evidence to show that the Indo-Greeks ever reached Kumaon.[57] Sankrityayan has propounded a view that the ancient remains of Joshimath and Paṇḍukeśwar in Garhwal display an influence of Greek art.[58] The view seems to be unwarranted totally and, therefore, it can be refuted without any further consideration. Incidentally, we may refer to some other powers emerging out of oblivion and setting a firm footing on the Indian soil. They were the Śakas, Pahlavas and later on the Kuṣāṇas also. None of them has initially anything to contribute to the land of Kumaon.

Kuṇindas

Our attention is drawn by the Kuṇindas, who along with other tribal dynasties of India filled the stage of political panorama in about the 2nd century B. C. Their history, though unrecorded, is supplemented by the discovery of coins in many parts of India. Whatever might have been their role in the history of India, it is fairly certain that at least they had a powerful domination in the hilly regions of north India for a reasonably sufficient time.

56. Price Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

57. Ptolemy says that Kulindrene was a province of Menander's Kingdom and covered the upper valleys of the Peās, Sutlej, Jamunā and Ganges—in other words the lower slopes of the Himalayas. A. K. Narain at one place postulates on the basis of circumstantial evidence "that Menander ruled at least as far as the Rāvī in the east; there is evidence that he made raids even beyond the Rāvi and the Seas into the Jamunā valley and led an army in league with others to Pāṭaliputra." But the author himself dismisses the view by stating that there is nothing to prove such a conquest of these areas. Again the author quotes from the western classical sources about Menander's conquest in India, which advocate that he probably advanced beyond the Hypanes (Beas) as far as the river Imaus or Isamos (usually identified either with the Jamunā or the Son). This Isamos has been identified by Raychaudhri with Triśāmā, and by Sircar with Ikṣumatī, a river of the Pānchala country often identified with the Kālīnadi of Kumaon, Rohilkhand and Kanauj region. See, Narain, A. K., *The Indo-Greeks*, pp, 81–82.

58. Sankrityan, Rahul, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

There are references to them in the Purāṇas,[59] and Varāhamihira[60] (587 A. D.) places them somewhere in the Himalayan region.

The Kuṇindas were the aboriginal tribe of the hilly regions of north India. Cunningham connects them with the present day Kunets of Kāngrā and the Trans-Sutlej area adding further that they are "the original inhabitants of the whole of lower slopes of the Himalayas from the banks of the Indus to the Brahmaputra."[61] And then he goes on to associate them with the Khasas.

The identification of Kuṇindas with the Kunets, though appearing probable, is not without objections. The Kunet population in Kāngrā and Cis-Sutlej area may be considerable. But nothing can be said about the Kumaon region. Though Cunningham states that the census returns include all the lands in the Dun valleys with the Kunet population, the present position, however, indicates that the majority of inhabitants comprises the Khasia and some other inferior castes. Long ago, due to paucity of sufficient resources, Cunningham assigned them to the two sides of the Sutlej.[62] Nevertheless, the recent numismatic discoveries have extended the territory as far as to the border of Tibet, thus assigning to them the present Garhwal and Kumaon as well.[63] We do not know anything about the present day descendants of Kuṇindas in the Kumaon region. Hence the contention of Cunningham about their identification with the Kunets of Kāngrā cannot also be taken to be very convincing.

On the statement of Ptolemy that the Kuṇindas were the dwellers of the upper valley of the Ganges, we can surmise that they were the aboriginals in the Himalayan region, who later on in the course of their history migrated to various hilly regions of north India.

Cunningham's remark about their being an aboriginal non-Aryans seems to be correct. The Kuṇindas were probably valorous, but without the least political ambitions in the beginning stage. In such state of affairs they might have lead a nomadic life. They seemed to have gained experience gradually in the company of more civilized people—the Khasas. They progressed and even outbeat the Khasas in their advancement. We do not know when the actual uprising of these people started. But on the basis of their coin-finds it may be said that they had established themselves politically by the beginning

59. Sircar, D. C., *op. cit.*, p. 24,
60. *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*, 15-30
61. Cunningham, A., *op. cit.*, p. 126.
62. Cunningham, A., *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 71.
63. Nautiyal, K. P., *op. cit.*, p. 380.

of 3rd-2nd century B. C. Powell Price stated that during the times of Aśoka, Nepal or Kumaon may have been part of the Kingdom of the Kuṇindas.[64] His view is sound since it can be well assumed on circumstantial evidence that they had a sway over some parts of Kumaon, Dehra Dun and the Panjab even during the Mauryan times.

After the downfall of the Mauryas, the emergence of tribal dynasties in the Indian political arena took place with full vigour. Their successors, the Śuṅgas, were not powerful enough to maintain the empire as before. Therefore in about the 2nd century B. C. many well known tribal dynasties had established themselves as rulers. The Kuṇindas, whose association with Kumaon is very well corroborated by the numismatic evidence, were one of them.

The provenance of their coins is wide. For this, it can be surmised that they occupied parts of Garhwal, Kumaon, Kulu, Kangra and other adjoining regions. They issued coins from these different regions and yet had some sort of homogeneity in the coin-legends and other symbols. Slight variations were followed, but that may be accounted due to some features of local importance creeping in.

We do not have a series of coins of this dynasty referring to all the rulers, save one, to wit, Amoghabhūti, whose coins have been discovered plentifully. His date has been fixed by Cunningham to about 150 B. C. since the coins were found along with about thirty coins of the Greek king Apollodotus in a field near Jwālāmukhī.[65] From Kumaon, the instance of three silver coins bearing the names Śivadatta, Śivapālita and Haradatta is also very interesting. Known as the Almora coins,[66] they are attributed to the Kuṇindas. Palaeographically the coins have been assigned to cir. 2nd cent B. C.

These four kings of the Kuṇinda dynasty tell us something significant as almost all of them are associated with some chief episodes of Indian history. Sircar propounds a view that the king Amoghabhūti is considered to have carved out a kingdom on the ruins of the Indo-Greek empire about the end of the first century B. C.[67] This view bears some weight. The discovery of the coins of Amoghabhūti along with the coins of Appolodotus suggests that the aforesaid ruler of the Kuṇinda dynasty ruled immediately after the Greek king Appolodotus. Narain states that, "it is only after his death that the last phase

64. Price, Powell, J. C., *A History of India*, p. 45
65. Cunningham, A., *op. cit.*, p 134.
66. See Nautiyal, K. P., *loc. cit.*, for detailled study.
67. Sircar D. C., *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 161, f n. 1.

of Indo-Greek history begins."[68] This indicates that after the death of Appolodotus his successor might not have been able to keep up the standard of his power aloft. And thus having a fine opportunity before, the Kuṇinda king Amoghabhūtī might have probably struck a blow and carved out an independent principality.

Apart from this king, the three belonging to the Almora branch of the Kuṇinda dynasty seemed to have been comparatively powerful. Sircar advocates that the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka I appears to have subjugated them in the first century A. D.[69] But the date which Sircar postulates for this episode is not in conformity with the numismatic evidence. The coins of these kings on palaeographical indication have been assigned to cir. the 2nd. cent. B.C. Therefore, the contention of the above scholar does not seem to be sound. Nevertheless, it is probable that the Kuṣāṇas were responsible at some stage in driving the Kuṇindas out from the foothills. The Kuṇindas, who were the mountain-dwellers, moved forward towards the plains probably after the downfall of the Indo-Greeks. It seems, therefore, that Kaniṣka I had nothing to do with the Kuṇindas, though he might have subjugated the other tribal dynasties like the Audumbaras, Vemikis and a few other families of north India. It is quite likely that during the early period of their conquest, the Kuṣāṇas did not pay any attention towards the Kuṇindas. And the result of this was that they remained undisturbed for a fairly long time after their settlement in the plains as also in the foothills. But as stated above, the Kuṣāṇas were responsible at some stage for the defeat of the Kuṇindas. This probably took place in the 2nd. century A. D. This view has some corroborative evidence. Though its final establishment awaits more confirmative discoveries, it will not be out of place to assume so on the basis of a recent chance-discovery of three Kuṣāṇa gold coins[70] belonging to the later Kuṣāṇa ruler Vāsudeva II from the ruined mound of Kāshīpur in Nainital District. This place is of great antiquarian interest and is considered to be a one time capital of the Kuṇinda dynasty. Thus, as far as Kumaon is concerned, it seems that on the Kuṣāṇa invasion the Kuṇindas retreated to the inaccessible areas of the hills, wherefrom they could probably never think of any fresh adventure, though it is believed that they assisted the Yaudheyas in regaining the lost power after a few centuries.

The Kuṇindas, though rising from a minor hill tribe, enjoyed considerable dominance over a large area by sheer dint of effort. As briefly referred to

68. Narain, A. K., *op. cit.*, p. 127.
69. Sircar, D. C., *op. cit.*, p. 161.
70. Nautiyal, K. P., 'Three Kushāṇa Gold Coins from Kāshipur', *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 181-182.

earlier, the Kuṇindas were assigned to a limited territory few years before. But in the light of fresh discoveries the picture has completely changed now. Because of a large scale discovery of coins in the region of Sugh in Kangra, Cunningham identified it with the Srughana of Hieun-Tsang. He further speculated that this region was once under the Kuṇindas. If it is taken to be the kingdom of Srughana of Hieun-Tsang, it is essential to describe the territory as done by him. He says that it "was 6000 li, or 1000 miles in circuit. On the east it extended to the Ganges and on the north to a range of lofty mountains, while the Jumna flowed through the midst of it."[71] On the basis of this data Cunningham draws a territorial line for the Srughana kingdom that it probably included the "hill states of Sirmor and Garhwal lying between the Giri river and the Ganges, with portions of the district of Ambala and Ṣaharaṇpur in the plains."[72] We cannot comment at present on the above hypothesis since further exploration is very essential in the aforesaid area to prove it. Accepting it tentatively, we can utilise it in a different manner. The likely centres of Kuṇinda power in Kumaon, such as Goviṣāṇa or modern Kāshipur, Dhikuli or Rāmanagar in the Nainital District and Joshimaṭh and Bārhāṭ in Garhwal District[73] were quite contiguous to this Srughana kingdom. It appears, therefore, that the above centers were under different individual branches of the Kuṇinda dynasty. They were probably supervised by a central power working as a supreme authority either at Srughana or at some other place. And thus, it appears to have made a sort of unitary form of administration. However, substantial evidence is required to establish this view finally.

The Kuṇindas probably subdued in the foothills occupied some part of the hills. Nevertheless, the history of this period especially pertaining to the Kumaon region is totally wrapped up in oblivion. As noted earlier, the Kuṣāṇas probably extinguished the Kuninads from the Kāshīpur region. But though the Kuṣāṇas advanced as far as Kashipur, they do not seem to have occupied it for, one does not find any trace of their influence on the monuments and sculptures available there. It therefore appears that they had only appointed a native person as governor to look after the affairs of Kashipur region.[74]

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71. Cunningham, A., *Ancient Geography of India*, p 398.

72. *Ibid.*

73. The coins pertaining to them are reported to have been discovered throughout these regions. For detailed study see, Nautiyal, K. P., *op. cit.*,pp. 375–86.

74. Out of the three gold coins found on the mound at Kāshipur, one bears the name adhuja (or Sadhu a) along with the usual legend. This was probably the name of the governor, who might have ruled over this area. See Nautiyal, K. P., *op. cit.*, p. 381.

Yaudheyas

By the end of the second and the beginning of the third century A. D., the tide seems to have turned. The Yaudheyas, who together with the other tribal dynasties of India were subjugated by the Kuṣāṇa invasion, rose up once again with full vigour and gave a severe blow to the rivals. And this resulted in their gaining not only the lost territory, but attaining some more which was not their own. The Yaudheyas seemed to have also conquered the region of Kumaon during the course of their victory. This view has a corroborative evidence of coins. Several coin-hoards are reported to have been discovered in Kumaon, particularly from places like Dehra Dun and Garhwal. These coins are assigned to a later period, to wit, about third century A. D. Along with these discoveries, no coins belonging to the Kuṇinda dynasty are available from the region. It, therefore, appears that the territory, which was enjoyed by the Kuṣāṇas till then, was acquired by the Yaudheyas. And at least the foothills, particularly the Kāshipur of Kumaon region, came under the yaudheyas.

It has been suggested by Altekar that in crushing the Kuṣāṇa power the Yaudheyas were assisted by the Kuṇindas. In support of his theory he cites example of the Mahārāja and Chhatreśvara type as "having close resemblance in type, size and fabric to the contemporary Yaudheyas with Kārttikeya on the obverse."[75] The view seems to be quite sound, but the argument of coin resemblance cannot be easily accepted. The probable likelihood is that the Kuṇindas, who were now confined only to a comparatively limited area, had not the capacity to take up arms against the Kuśāṇas with full strength. And, therefore, their assistance to the Yaudheyas could have been probably quite nominal in nature. However, it cannot be said definitely that the above referred coin-types were issued after this episode. It is just possible that the resemblance is due to the closer contiguity of the two kingdoms. The very fact of their joint venture against the Kuṣāṇas suggests that both the powers at one time maintained closer and harmonious relations with each other. This may be the reason behind striking similar types of coins.

Another contention of Altekar that the formation of a federation of the three powers, to wit, the Yaudheyas, the Kuṇindas, and the Arjunāyans took place to meet effectively a foreign menace, may however, be accepted. But as has been stated before, the Kuṇindas had no capacity to rise up with strength equal to that of the Yaudheyas. It appears, therefore,

75. Altekar, A. S., "The Yaudheyas as the Political Successors of the Kushāṇas in North India," *J. U. P. H. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 55.

that they joined the Yaudheyas due to their age old ties of friendship without any consideration for forming a federation.

After the Yaudheyas

We do not have any systematic record of our history even after the Yaudheyas. Nevertheless, Firishta throws a sidelight, which instead of giving us a clue, baffles us greatly. Describing the kingdom of Delhi, he says that after leaving an infant son, Jaya Chand, the ruler af Delhi died. The young prince ascended the throne but was deposed by his uncle with the help of his nobles. After having ruled for four years "P'hoor, a Rājā of Kumaon collecting a considerable force, attacked Dehloo, took him prisoner and sent him into confinement in the fort of Rohtas, himself usurping the empire. Rājā P'hoor pushed on his conquests through Bung, as far as the ocean, and having collected a great army, refused to pay tribute to the kings of Persia. The Brahmanical and other historians are agreed that P'hoor marched his army to the frontier of India in order to oppose the progress of Alexander, on which occasion P'hoor lost his life in battle, after having reigned seventy-three years."[76] Commenting on the above statement, Atkinson says that "the Greeks found Prous between the Hydaspes and the Akesines and the nephew of Porus in the next duāb. We may accept the suggestion that they were both Pauravas or descendants of Puru, for Plutarch makes Gegasius the progenitor of P'hoor, and he may be identified with Yayāti. We have another Porus, however,..............who sent an embassy to Augustus in B. C. 22-20, and this date would agree better with the time given in the local legend of Rājā P'hoor.................who may have been an Indo-scythian or Pārthian, and here he is connected with Kumaon, of which he may have been a suzerain."[77]

After considering the information supplied by Firishata and the comment of Atkinson, it is really difficult to accept the very basis of this account. Firishtā, who had visited India in about the 17th century, had based his study on second hand information. And Briggs has rightly remarked in his preface itself that he (Firishtā) carried "a rapid and imperfect account of Hindu History previously to the Mohamedan invasion."[78] Several discrepancies have made the entire issue quite contrary to facts. The throne of Delhi and the ruler Jaya Chand do not coincide at all with any known fact of the ancient history of India. The famous Jaya Chand of the mediaeval period of

76. Briggs, John, *History of the Mohemaden Power in India*, Vol. I, p. LXXII–1908.
77. Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, p. 451.
78. Briggs, John, *op. cit.*, p. IX.

Indian history comes about in the 10th-11th centuries. Then the identification of Porus of Indian history with Rājā P'hoor of Firishtā is unwarranted. None of the Greek classical writers mentions that Porus had anything to do with Kumaon. Atkinson's identification of another Porus of B. C. 22-20 also cannot be accepted.

After some other discussion, Firishtā says that P'hoor was succeeded by Sansār Chand, whose empire was finally usurped by Joona—the nephew of P'hoor. Almost all these names are new to Kumaon history. Hence we cannot say to which dynasty these rulers belonged. It appears very probable that this episode in Firishtā's account was erroneously taken as of early period. A very plausible likelihood appears to be that the incident is related to some event of the Chand rulers of Kumaon, whose history is a subject of later discussion. The reason for such a hypothesis may be that Rājā P'hoor of Firishtā was succeeded by his son Sansār Chand and we get this name (Sansār Chand) in the list of Chand rulers also.[79] Hence an assumption may be built up that probably Rājā P'hoor of Firishta was Pūrṇa Chand of the Chand dynasty. This king comes third in order of succession from Soma Chand, the first Chand ruler of Kumaon. Then after an interval filled in by Indra Chand, Sansār Chand occupied the throne. It is difficult to identify Joona with any of the Chand rulers, The mistake committed by Firishtā in wrongly producing the episode of history was quite obvious. It appears that the incident belonged to about llth century A. D., while Firishtā wrote his account in c. 1612 A. D.[80] Hence it would have been difficult to write correctly about an incident which had already happened about five hundred years ago and which was probably handed over to him in a most unauthenticated form.

Samudragupta and the Kumaon region

After the episode of king P'hoor, a reference which can be taken as of some historical importance is the reference in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. The mention of Kartripura, along with the list of those places subjugated by Samudragupta, has been taken by scholars to stand for Kumaon.[81] The Kartripura, it appears, comprised the modern valley of Baijnāth in Almora District, which was once known as the Kārttikeyapura. There

79. See Sankrityayan, Rahul, Pt. II, p. 76. Phonetically also the words Pūrṇa and P'hoor show a remarkable similarity.

80. Briggs, John, *op. cit.*, p. XI

81. Long ago, Fleet had identified it with the modern Kartārpur in Jullundar. Many later historians followed his contention. But the consensus of opinions is that it was meant for the Katyūr valley of Kumaon. For example Oldham in *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 98 ; Nando Lal Dey and V. A. Smith in the same journal accept this identification.

is nothing to advocate as to who was the ruling prince of this place during this time. However, it can be surmised that the Kuṇindas had attained stronghold in Kārttikeyapura after their discomfiture from the foothills. This Kartripura was probably a state like Nepal. The very geographical position of modern Baijnāth suggests that it was here that the Kuṇindas were the chief occupants. The suggestion of Powell Price can be taken as correct when he says that "among the names of frontier peoples or kingdoms in that inscription is to be found the name Kartripura. This name occurs exactly in order where the name Kuṇinda might be expected. Of course, an inscription in verse cannot always give the geographical position accurately as considerations of metre may not always allow. Yet this name fits in quite naturally."[82] This statement of the above author deduces the fact that the Kuṇindas were probably mentioned in Samudragupta's inscription not by name like the other tribal dynasties, but by the name of their capital-Kartripura or the later Kārttikeyapura.

A Second Reference by Firishtā

Apart from the earlier reference, there is another in Firishtā's account about the region of Kumaon. Describing the exploits of one Ram Deo Rāthor,[83] he tells us that he (Ram Deo Rathor) was opposed in his conquests by the Rājā of "Kumaon (who inherited his country and crown from a long line of ancestors that had ruled upwards of 2000 years) : a sanguinary battle took place, which lasted during the whole of one day, from sunrise to sunset, wherein many thousands were slain on both sides; till at length the Rājā of Kumaon was defeated with the loss of all his elephants and treasures, and fled to the hills."[84] The Rājā of Kumaon was compelled to give him his daughter.

Atkinson does not infer anything from it since it is again a vague reference in Firishtā's account. Who were these two historical personalities is not known to us. As noted earlier, the date fixed by Atkinson, as 440 and 470 A D, cannot also be accepted. Whoever this Rām Deo had been, the Rāthor history itself indicates that the dynasty had emerged lately in the Indian political scene.[85] After closely scrutinising

82. Powell Price, 'Kuṇindas and Katyuris', *J. U. P. H. S.*, Vol. XVIII, Pts. I and II, p. 217.

83. Atkinson has quoted Briggs giving the date of Rām Deo Rāthor as 440 and 470 A. D. It is, however, not given by Briggs in his book. We cannot say how Atkinson has committed this mistake. See Briggs, J., *op cit.*, p. EXXVII.

84. *Ibid.*

85. An inscription of the Chālukya dynasty of Lāṭa, dated A. D. 1050, associates a Rāṣṭrakūṭa (or Rāthor) dynasty with Kanauj. Another inscription, found at Badāun gives some account of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty ruling in Panchāla country in the 11th and 12th centuries. See Ganguli, D. C. 'Kanauj' *The Struggle For Empire*, Vol. V, p. 50.

the history of the Rāthors (or Rāṣṭrakūṭas), we do not get any of the names similar to Rām Deo Rāthor mentioned by Firishtā. Though Firishtā clearly states that Ram Deo Rāthor was the general of one Vasudeo of Kanauj, who had died leaving his thirty sons behind him quarrelling for the throne, it is very difficult either to identify Vasudeo with any of the known kings of Kanauj.

Whatever incident the present reference might relate, it is more than certain that the episode belonged to about the 11th-12th centuries. In this case also Firishtā seems to have made a mistake once again. Hence no more weight can be given to his statement and neither the incident may be applied to any period of Kumaon history.

Post-Gupta Period of Kumaon history

Though the period, under discussion, is shrouded in obscurity, we have stray references about some of the kingdoms of Kumaon flourishing during this age. The picture thus gathered is that the region appears to have been divided amongst a number of petty principalities. Hieun-Tsang, the Chinese traveller, visiting India in 634 A. D., specifically speaks about the kingdoms of Kumaon. While proceeding from Ṭhāneśwar to Srughana in Saharanpur and across the Ganges to Madāwar in the Bijnor district, he describes Mayūra or Māyāpura close to Hardwār and his journey to Po-Lo-ki-mo-pou-lo or Brahmapura, which lay 300 li or 50 miles to the north of Madāwar. This Brahmapura has set the scholars speculating. Cunningham was the first to place it in the Garhwal-Kumaon region. He says, "the northern bearing is certainly erroneous, as it would have carried the pilgrim across the Ganges and back again into Srughana. We must, therefore, read north-east, in which direction lie the districts of Garhwal and Kumaon that once formed the famous kingdom of the Katyuri dynasty."[86] He further argues that this is the region intended by the pilgrim as is proved by the fact that the region of Garhwal i. e. Dhanpur and Pokhrī yield copper in abundance. Apart from the description of the inhabitants of this kingdom, the traveller goes on to speak about another kingdom, which was situated to the north of the former. This great snowy mountain kingdom is known as the kingdom of Sou-fa-la-na-kio-ta-lo or Suvarṇagotra, where gold of a superior quality is produced. From east to west the kingdom has a great extension, but from north to south it is very narrow. For many centuries the ruler has been a woman, and thus it is an Amazonian kingdom. This country touches on the east the country of the Tibetans, on the north the country of Khotān and on the west is San-po-ho or Sampha.

86. *A. G. I.*, Ed. S. N. Majumdar Śāstrī, 1924, p. 407.

Trying to identify the Brahmapura kingdom, Cunningham further suggests that it might be the same as Lakhanpura or Vairāṭapaṭṭam on the Rāmgaṅgā river, which is considered to have been another capital of Kumaon. The distance from Madāwar to Lakhanpura or Vairāṭapaṭṭam is about 50 miles. For this discrepancy Cunningham argues that the place next visited by Hieun-Tsang was probably Goviṣāṇa, from where Vairātapaṭṭam lies exactly 50 miles towards the north. Some other scholars identified the Brahmapura kingdom with the present Śrīnagara in District Garhwal, while some placed it in the Bijnor District. Atkinson places it at Bāṛhāṭ in Garhwal because "it was the seat of an old dynasty and contains numerous remains or temples and other buildings."[87] Powell Price, however, suggested "the Katyūr valley which has a tradition of many centuries of occupation."[88] Fuhrer on the other hand identifies the ruins of Manḍhāl and Pāṇḍuwālā in Hardwār as another likely site for it.[89] Thus this has remained a vexed question till the present day. In recent years Goetz has propounded quite differently. He has placed the Brahmapura kingdom in Chambā rather than in Kumaon and Garhwal. He says further, "as the ancient name of Brahmor in Chambā was Brahmapura, and as the most interesting monuments there belong to the 7th century, it is tempting to identify Brahmor with the Brahmapura of Varāhamihira and Hieun-Tsang."[90]

Let us examine the views propounded by various scholars. Firstly, the suggestion of Goetz is not without flaws. He himself is not very sure of his proposition and says at another place that the matter is not so simple because "Hieun-Tsang does not mention Brahmpura in Chambā at all, though he gives detailed descriptions of its neighbours, Kulu as well as the Jālandhara kingdom which then covered the Kangra valley.[91] Nevertheless, he puts his argument forcefully on the basis that the Brahmapura kingdom was very extensive, "whereas the identification with a place in Kumaon permits only of the existence of a tiny and obscure principality."[92]

The very foundation of Goetz's theory seems to be weak as the Chinese traveller specifically places the Brahmapura kingdom near the Gangetic valley and never outside it. It can be accepted that some sort of discrepancy might have entered in the account of the Chinese pilgrim. But there cannot

87. Atkinson, E. T. *op., cit.*, p. 453.
88. Powell Price, *op, cit.*, p 220.
89. Fuhrer, A., *op. cit.*, p. 46.
90. Goetz, H., *The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba*, Leiden–1955–p. 14.
91. *Ibid.*
92. *Ibid.*

be any scope in altering his suggested geographical direction. Another argument obout the vastness of the region of Chambā should also be rejected. We will see subsequently that Kumaon comprises several archaeological sites, which might have formed once the territory of the Brahmapura kingdom.

The reference to Suvarṇagotra or "Gold country" has been taken by Goetz to be for Sārthol in Tibet. Atkinson placed it to the north of Gaṇai in the valley of the Gaurī (Gorī) : "There is no doubt that the valley of the Gorī in Juhūr in which Milam is situated has at present day a considerable population and commands a large trade with Tibet."[93] Herodotus mentions the city of Kaspatyrus in the extreme north where "men are sent forth to procure gold."[94] The gold is the legendary 'ant' gold which is mentioned in the Mahābhārata, where the Khasias bring 'paipīlika' or ant gold to Yudhiṣṭhira (pipilakā nām uddhritā yat pipīlikē).[95] This has been again referred to by Megasthenes.[96] The kingdoms of the Amazons is meant for the country where for many centuries the ruler has been a woman. But where was this Amazonian kingdom ? Atkinson aptly remarks that we must search for it across the passes in Tibet. He further states that "the Chinese name for the Amazonian kingdom was Kinchi and M. Julien makes Sampha which, lay to the west of it the same as Mo-Lou-Lo or Malasa, which was some 2000 li or 333 miles to the north of Lo-hou-lo, the modern Lahul..............This clearly brings us across the snowy range to the trans-Himalayan valley of the Sutlej...........The country lying between the Ganges and the Matchou or Karnāli is called Nacra Somtou in the Jesuits map of Tibet. GNari is celebrated for its mines of gold and is bounded on the north by Khotān and on the east by Tibet proper......Wilson writes that the Strī-Rājya is usually placed in Bhot......In the Chinese annals we have record which corroborates the statement of Hieun-Tsang and proves that the Amazonian kingdom lay in Tibet and was a reality. From it we learn that there was a tribe in Eastern Tibet known as the Nu-wang from the fact of their being ruled by a woman."[97]

From the above observation of Atkinson, it is clear that this Suvarṇagotra or the Amazonian kingdom lies in the borderland of India. And therefore, there cannot be any doubt in placing it in the Tibet or somewhere in the Bhot country. As has been remarked already, the inhabitants commonly

93. Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, p. 455.

94. Herodotus, III, p. 102.

95. See, Sabhāparvan, Chapter 52, verse III.

96. Majumdar, R. C., *The Classical Accounts of India*, 1960, p. 266.

97. Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit*, p. 458.

known as the Bhoṭiyās might have carried the trade with the Himalayan region from a very ancient past. Therefore the contention of Goetz "that very little gold trade could pass through Kumaon"[98] does not seem to be correct.

The proposition of Atkinson about the Brahmapura kingdom is also not acceptable to the present author. Though Bāṛhāt has a fair antiquity, it cannot be placed in any way prior to the 8th cent. A. D.

Powell Price's contention about the Katyūr valley is also not without doubts. This valley, though very significant from the point of Kumaon history, cannot be taken as a likely site for the Brahmapura kingdom. The Tāleśwar copper plate grants are interesting in this connection.[99] They seem to have been issued from Brahmapura. They mention the name Kārttkēya-pura, which had probably a geographical contiguity to this Brahmapura kingdom. But to suggest that Brahmapura and Kārttikēyapura were both in the Katyūr valley[100] is totally wrong. The Brahmapura kingdom was quite extensive and was probably one of the most important kingdoms during the advent of Hieun-Tsang. Therefore, it is difficult to accept that it was situated in the Katyūr valley of Kumaon. This valley is not so vast as to have been ruled by two different kingdoms simultaneously. Hieun-Tsang does not say a word about Kārttikēyapura. Therefore, it seems that only the Brahmapura seat of government, which was a very important one attracted attention of the Chinese traveller. The Kārttikēyapura principality was probably less significant during these days. The Tāleśwar copper plates refer to a place called Kārttikēyapuragrām,[101] which was surrounded by some villages under the rule of Brahmapura kingdom. Here it appears, therefore, that the intention might have been to name the villages of Brahmapura kingdom in the vicinity of Kārttikēyapura. The mention of Kārttikēyapura in the Tāleśwar C. P. grants simply suggests that the Brahmapura kingdom had probably eclipsed the Kārttikēyapura kingdom in its power and glory. It had acquired some villages from the Kārttikēyapura kingdom also as the contents of the grant show. However, further data is required for the final establishment of this view.

The problem now arises as to where this Brahmapura kingdom was located. To solve the riddle we have to go back to an earlier discussion. It is already stated that Cunningham placed it on the Rāmagaṅgā river.

98. Goetz, H., *op. cit.*, p. 16.

99. Gupte, Y. R., *op. cit.*, p. 116, L. 20 and p. 116, L. 1.

100. Powell Price, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

101. Gupte, Y. R., *op. cit.*, p. 116, L. 20.

The suggestion of the above scholar is very sound taking into consideration the following factors. This place is known presently as Dhikuli and is about 4 miles north-east of the modern Rāmanagar. A personal survey of the site revealed the existence of extensive ruins which suggest that it was once a flourishing ancient city.[102] An earlier survey had brought to light "portions of pillars, śikharas of temples, bas-relief of lions, bulls and deities of Buddhistic designs...lying scattered throughout the Chaurs."[103] These relics were thoroughly examined and many details were found to be correct. Hence, this seems to have been the Brahmapura seat of government. As remarked, the Brahmapura kingdom was fairly extensive. It probably comprised almost the entire Tarāi region and extended in the west upto Hardwār. There are some ancient ruins in the Tarāi area, known as the Moradhwaj and Chaturbhuj. They seem to have been included in the Brahmapura kingdom. The ruins of Maṇḍhal and Pāṇduwālā near Hardwār indicate that they were also probably the chief cities of the Brahmapura kingdom.[104] These two sites have yielded sculptures pertaining to various sects. Some of them are quite remarkable.[105]

Therefore, on the basis of the above judgement a fresh but tentative boundary can be drawn for this kingdom. Having its seat of government at Brahmapura or modern Dhikuli, it probably extended in the east to the present Almora town, touching the boundary of the Kārttikēyapura kingdom, thus having modern Rāṇikhet and some part of the present Nainital in it. In the west its extension reached as far as Hardwār or the so called Mayūrapura or Māyāpura of Hieun-Tsang.[106] In the north it included the tract of Śrīnagara in Garhwal District and in the south probably it bordered another kingdom

102. After examining the ruins of the above site the statement of the Chinese traveller, that the capital is small but the inhabitants are numerous and prosperous, may safely be applied to Dhikuli.

103. Misra, N. N., 'A note on the Dhikuli and Ujhain Ruins', *J. U. P. H. S.*, Vol. IX, July–1936, Pt. II, pp. 45–48.

104. This Pāṇḍuwālā is so much important from the point of antiquarian interest that it has been categorised by Fuhrer as I–B, which means a most important site according to him. See, Fuhrer, A., *op. cit.*, p. 46.

105. Apart from the other interesting sculptures, one inscribed image of the Buddha kept in the Gurukula museum is very significant. From this fact we can tentatively conclude that the account of Hieun-Tsang about the religion of this kingdom can be taken as correct. However, further material is awaited for the finality of this view. See, Hari Datta, 'Gurukula Museum' Hardwar, *J. I. M.*, 1953, Vol. IX, pp. 125–27.

106. Cunningham has also assigned a considerably wider territory to this Brahmapura kingdom. See Map X, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

known as Govişāņa and mentioned in Hieun-Tsang's account. Thus the kingdom in question had an extensive territory. And therefore, the view that the region of Kumaon suggests only a tiny and obscure principality and as such to push it to the Kangra region is fairly unjustified.

Powell Price conjectured that the rulers of the Brahmapura kingdom were the Kuņindas.[107] The hypothesis goes against the statements of the Tāleśwar C. P. grants. It is stated there that the donor descended from the "Lunar as well as the Solar race", and belonged to the royal lineage of the Pauravas. This is a very vague statement from which no conclusion can be derived.

Taking into consideration the details about the rulers of this Paurava dynasty of Brahmapura, we come to know that the first copper-plate grant was issued in the 5th regnal year of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Dyutivarman. The legend on the seal attached to this plate indicated that he was the son of Agnivarman, grandson of Vṛişavarman and great-grandson of Vişņuvarman. The second charter was issued in the 28th regnal year of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Vişņuvarman II son of Dyutivarman and grandson of Agnivarman.

The genealogies in the charter show that both the lines of rulers were connected with each other. And thus the whole family may be put in order of succession in the following manner :—

Vişņuvarman I
|
Vṛişavarman
|
Agnivarman
|
Dyutivarman
|
Vişņuvarman II

Excepting a general description in their records, we do not get any other details about these Paurava rulers of Brahmapura.

Now the question arises as to what was the origin of these Pauravas, who claimed to have descended from both the moon and the sun? It is a statement which does not lead us anywhere. However, quite tentatively, their origin might be traced from the famous Paurava dynasty of the Purāņas. What was the role of these Pauravas in the history of Kumaon; where was their original place; when did they migrate to

107. Powell Price, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 10.

this region of Kumaon and when did they establish a seat of government at Brahmapura? For this we have no answer to give at the present state of our knowledge.

Who were the Pauravas of the Purāṇas? Pargiter assumed that the Pauravas along with other dynasties, such as the Ānavas, Yādavas, etc, were all Aryans.[108] Shafer has recently postulated that they were not Aryans. "The Purūs were fighting the Aryans at Paruṣṇī and were described in the Ṛgveda as 'mṛdhravācaḥ' of hostile speech, otherwise applied only to Dasyus. The Vāyupurāṇa holds the Pauravas to be foreigners. In the royal Paurava line were names such as Dhundhu, Kuru and Jahnu, for which no certain derivation has been found and others which seem out of line with the usual Sanskrit names of persons."[109] Both the views are equally strong. Nevertheless, one can say that the Brahmapura dynasty of Paurava rulers was perfectly Brahmanical in habits and practice, for, in the opening line of the first grant the king claims to have wished the welfare of cows and Brāhmaṇas (gō-vrā (brā) hmaṇa-hitaiṣī).[110]

In the earlier pages it has been clearly stated that after repelling the Kuṣāṇas, the Yaudheyas extended their territory and also brought the foothills of Kumaon under them. It appears, therefore, that the Goviṣāṇa or Kāshīpur remained for sometime under the Yaudheyas, while the Katyūr valley of Kumaon was ruled by the Kuṇindas. And the region between these two tribal dynasties was probably occupied by the Brahmapura kingdom. Thus its north to south extension was comparatively wide than east to west. We cannot say anything about the early eventuality in the fortunes of this dynasty, but it seems that they occupied the seat of Brahmapura kingdom after acquiring it either from the Kuṇindas or from the Yaudheyas. And this might have taken place only after the times of Samudragupta.[111] The latter had completely liquidated both the powers, i.e. the Kuṇindas and the Yaudheyas. The Pauravas, might have, easily overwhelmed either of these powers and established the seat at Brahmapura in about the closing years of 4th century A. D.

The Kingdom of Goviṣāṇa

Apart from Brahmapura, there is yet another important kingdom of the Kumaon hills, which is described by Hieun-Tsang as Kiu-pi-shwang-na. This has been identified by M. Julien as Goviṣāṇa. On leaving Madāwar, the

108. Pargitar, F. E., *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, London, 1922, pp. 110-115.

109. Shafer, Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

110. Gupte, Y. R., *op. cit.*, L. 2.

111. The A. P. I. contains no reference to this kingdom or any of its ruler in the list of those who were subjugated by Samudragupta.

Chinese pilgrim travelled 40 li or 66 miles to the south-east and arrived in the kingdom of Kiu-pi-shwang-na. "The capital was 14 or 15 li, or two and a half miles in circuit. Its position was strong, being elevated and of difficult access, and it was surrounded by groves, tanks and fish ponds. There were two monasteries containing 100 monks and 30 Brahmanical temples. In the middle of the larger monastery, which was outside the city, there was a stūpa of Aśoka, 200 feet in height built over the spot where Buddha was said to have explained the law. There were also two small stūpas, only 12 feet high, containing his hair and nails."[112] Four hundred li or 67 miles to the south-east lay the kingdom of O-hi-tchi-ta-lo or Ahichhatra. After surveying and sensing the distance assigned by Hieun-Tsang, Cunningham reached the conclusion that Govişāṇa should be identified with the old fort near the village of Ujhain, one mile east of modern Kāshīpur in the Nainital District The ancient place had remained deserted for several hundred years before the occupation of present Kāshīpur. The place, known as Kāshīpur today, was founded by Kāshīnāth Adhikārī as late as 1718 A. D. The ancient name was subsequently forgotten, but the tank Droṇa-Sāgara still retains the old name, probably after Droṇāchārya of the Mahābhārata.

The kingdom of Govişāṇa saw many phases of settlement in its history. It can be surmised that it had its beginning some centuries before the Christian era. Some trial excavations of the site have also proved its antiquity.[113]

It cannot, however, be ascertained as to who were the inhabitants at this place before the Kuṇindas and the Yaudheyas[114] Even the Chinese traveller remains silent about it.

Lākhāmaṇḍal Dynasties

Apart from the dynasties at Brahmapura and Govişāṇa, we also get two inscriptions from Lākhāmaṇḍal in Dehra Dun District, which tell us about two more dynasties of rulers

112. Cunningham, *A. S. I.*, Vol. I, p. 252.

113. The excavation was conducted by Rameshwar Dayal, Deputy Collector, Almora, about 20 years ago. Unfortunately the report was nowhere published. But the sculptures kept in a temple at Kāshipur sufficiently prove that they belong to the Gupta times. However, nothing definite can be said about the exact date of the site. But the discovery of N. B. P. Ware at the mound by the author (cf. *I. A. R.* 61–62) takes us much earlier than the Gupta times. Hence a tentative postulation demands a thorough excavation of the site.

114. This point has already found a sufficient discussion that Kāshīpur was in the occupation of the Kuṇindas and the Yaudheyas successively.

The first belonging to about 5th century A. D. contains a bare list of rulers. The genealogy in the inscription is given in the following manner :—

1. Jayadāsa	5. Chhagaleśadāsa
2. Name lost	6. Rudrēśadāsa
3. Guhēśa	7. Chhagaleśa (Kētu)
4. Achala	

The editor of the inscription remarks that the blank space in line four suggests that one more name between Achala and Chhagaleśadāsa also might have been lost.[115]

Excepting a genealogical list, the composer of the verses does not enumerate at all the achievements of any one of the rulers.

The line opens with a salutation to Nagendratanayā (Pārvati). Who were these rulers is a pertinent question and which cannot be explained at the present state of our knowledge. Chhabra has drawn attention to the peculiarities of their names. He says that "Chhagalēśa reminds one of the Sanakānika Mahārāja Chhagalaga whose grandson has left us an inscription dated in the reign of Chandragupta II, Gupta year 82 at a cave near Udayagiri in Gwalior."[116] This identification is quite interesting, but the author is himself correct in remarking that there is no intention to offer any comment at this stage. However, it seems that this dynasty of rulers was probably of some indigenous people of the Lākhāmaṇḍal region where they ruled for sometimes, when finally they were overthorwn by the ruler of Singhapura dynasty.

The dynasty of Singhapura

The work of overthrowing the house of Lākhāmaṇḍal might have been completed by this dynasty in about 6th century A. D. A list of the kings of the entire family is supplied by a praśasti at Lākhāmaṇḍal.

The praśasti records the dedication of a shrine of Śiva by a princess, Īśvarā,[117] "who belonged to the royal race of Singhapura, for the spiritual welfare of her deceased husband. The latter, called Śrī-chandragupta, was the son of a king of Jālandhara."[118]

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115. Chhabra B. Ch., "Lākhāmaṇḍal Fragmentry Stone Inscription of the Gupta period," *J. U. P. H. S.*, Vol. XVII, Pt. I, p. 80.

116. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

117. Tasyāstanayā Sāddhvī Sāvitrīvaśvarēti nāmnāsita.

118. Buhler, G., *op. cit.*, p. 11.

The following genealogy is available from the inscription :—

I. Senavarman
II. Āryavarman
III. Dattavarman
IV. Pradīptavarman
V. Īśvaravarman
VI. Vriddhivarman
VII. Siṅghavarman
VIII. Jala (varman)
IX. Yajñāvarman
X. Achalavarman Samaraghaṅghala

XI. Divākaravarman Mahughaṅghala — XII. Bhāskara (varman) Ripughaṅghala -married-Jayāvalī (daughter of Kapilavardhhana)

Īśvara-married-Chandragupta prince of Jālandhara

The dynasty belonged to the line of Yadu or the Yādavas of the lunar race–which had ruled over the country "since the beginning of the Yuga."[119]

From this inscription also we do not gather any historical fact, though several verses have been devoted to the royal personages. There is only a statement in the inscription about Jayāvali that "she obtained the title devī through her virtues."[120] This statement permits us to infer that she belonged to a lower social strata. This is further indicated by the epithet śrī to her father, who might have been probably a common Rājpūt. Then we have the expression Śri Chandragupta, who was the son of Jālandhara. This points out that he himself was not a reigning king, "but either a younger son or possibly an elder son who died during his father's lifetime.[121]

119. *Ibid.*, L. 1, verse 2.

120. Ibid.

121. Ibid., p. 11.

The history of this dynasty is nowhere available any more for a detailed study. It will be, however, quite interesting if we attribute the Aśvamedha sacrifice at Jagatgrāma, Kālsī, to this dynasty of rulers. Prior to it, T. N. Ramchandran has attributed the site to the Yaudheyas,[122] who were, according to numismatic evidence, the inhabitants of this region. But the identification cannot be easily accepted, as we do not have any Yaudheya coin bearing the name Śīlavarman.[123] This king, who performed sacrifice at Jagatgrāma, has left no antecedants either in his inscription or anywhere else, but since the name and suffix closely resemble those in the inscription, the performer of the sacrifice may be very probably taken to be the king of the same dynasty. Though the present identification may carry an argument that the Lākhāmaṇḍal inscription belongs to about 6th-7th centuries, attention may be invited to consider the observation of Bühler, who places the accession of the first ruler (senavarman of the inscription) in the beginning of the 4th century A. D. His arguments are following :[124]

(a) Hieun-Tsang remarks about the government of Siṅghapura that the country had no king or rulers, but was in dependence on Kashmir.

(b) Since our "inscription distinctly asserts that kings of Yadu race ruled the realm of Siṅghapura since the beginning of the yuga and enumerates eleven generations by name, its date probably falls before the Kashmirian conquest."[125]

(c) Even if we assume that Siṅghapura again became independent at the time of Hieun-Tsang's visit, its contents would clash with Hieun-Tsang's statement. If we take the date before that of Hieun-Tsang, that will perfectly suit the assertion of the inscription that the Yādavas ruled Siṅghapura since the beginning of the Yuga. In such case the eleven princes ruling in a direct succession would have taken at least 275 years. And that will very conveniently place Senavarman to the beginning of the 4th century A. D.

The inscription at Jagatgrām has been dated on palaeographical conside-

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122. Ramchandran, T. N., 'Aśvamedha site near Kālsi,' *J. O. R. M.*, Vol. XXI, Pts. I–IV, p. 24.

123. Siddham-om yugeśvarasyāśvamedha yugaśailamahīpate iṣṭakā varṣaganyasya nṛpateśśīlavarmaṇaḥ. See *I. A. R.*, 1953–54, p. 11.
(The region under Śīlavarman was known as yugaśaila, which probably signified the mountainous region).

124. Bühler, G., *op. cit.*, p. 12.

125. *Ibid.*

rations to about 4th century A. D. This brings out a very convincing hypothesis that Śilavarman of the Aśvamedha sacrifice might have been the first ruler Senavarman of the Siṅghapura dynasty, who was probably mis-spelled by the scribe of the praśasti as 'sena' rather than 'śila'.

History of Kumaon during Harṣa's Reign

We have no sufficient records to make out any definite picture of the region of Kumaon during the times of Harṣa (606-647). R. S. Tripathi postulated that the kingdoms "about the governments of which Hieun-Tsang maintains silence were probably included within Kanauj."[126] The statement seems to be correct at least in the case of Kumaon. The Kumaon region which was being ruled by several dynasties seemed to have lost its united strength. And at this occasion Harṣa probably succeeded in acquiring the kingdoms of Goviṣāṇa, Brahmapura and Matipura and put them under his nominal suzerainty.

Yet another proposition is forwarded by Rahul Sankrityayan about the rest of the Kumaon region. He postulated that the Tibetan king Srong-Tsang-Gampo (629-647 A. D.), who had attained invincible power, extended his empire far and wide upto China and Nepal. Besides, he is said to have overwhelmed almost all the rulers of the entire Himalayan region.[127] The above observation seems to be correct taking into consideration the conditions of Kumaon. Here we have the relics of the Tibetan Buddhism, which can be assigned to the above period. It is evidently a well known fact that the Tibetan king became a devout Buddhist after having been baptised by his wife.[128] It is, therefore, believed that he propagated this religion with a very sincere zeal. And since the region of Kumaon, particularly Garhwal, was probably under his suzerainty, it is quite obvious that he introduced some changes in the religious set-up of the place. It appears that the first prey of this Buddhistic expansionism was the sacred shrine of Badarināth. It is only during this religious cataclysm that several icons belonging to the Hindu pantheon were destroyed. The Badarināth image has recently become controversial, for it is attributed by some to be of the Buddha.

126. Tripathi, R. S., *History of Kanauj*, 1937, p. 115.

127. Sankrityayan, Rahul, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

128. On the basis of the Tibetan chronicle, authors like Levi and others have concluded that after having conquered Nepal, the Tibetan king married the daughter of king Aṃśuvarman of Nepal, who took with her a contingent of Buddhist preachers and artists who helped to build up a new culture for that country. See, Regmi, D. R., *op. cit.*, p. 126.

This finds place elsewhere elaborately. Nevertheless, it can still be stressed that the relations between the Tholing muṭh (Tibet) and the Badarināth shrine had probably originated during this period. And this could have been possible only if both the places i. e. Badarināth and Tholing muṭh had something to do in common either with Hinduism or Buddhism.

The Tibetan supremacy over Kumaon remained for some time. Though it can be said that there could not have been a total subjugation of Kumaon dynasty, some allegiance was probably lent to the Tibetan monarch by the kings of this region.

In the closing years of about 7th. century A. D., the Tibetan power started waning and the rulers of the Himalayan region were probably able to orerthrow the Tibetan hold. This power-survival in the beginning of the next century resulted in the formation of many independent principalities in these Himalayan hills.

The Historical Dynasties of Kumaon

The historical material that helps us in building up the history of Kumaon is available only after the close of 7th century A. D. As stated above, this period marks the downfall of the Tibetan supremacy and the rise of several petty chiefs in the whole region.

The Katyūris

They seem to have been the earliest rulers of Kumaon to have established their power firmly on its (Kumaon) soil. It was the first historical dynasty that had left some records of its achievements. But the extant material pertaining to their history supplies barely a genealogical list. Some of the copper plate grants, referred to earlier, simply describe the good deeds performed by the rulers of this dynasty. And, therefore, there is not much scope for constructing their connected political account. Before taking up their history, let us take a survey of some other ruling houses contemporary to the Katyūris. The houses of prominence in the region during the 7th-8th centuries were the following :—

1. The kingdom of Bhillang in the western part of Garhwal, and
2. The house of Chāndpurgarh in the eastern part of Garhwal.

Besides, there were the kingdoms of Govişāṇa, Brahmapura and Kārttikēyapura, all in the present Almora and Nainital Districts. They had probably become inactive after coming under the suzerainty of Harṣa. Hence the former three, whose records are available, should be taken for consideration.

The Kingdoms of Bhillang and Chāndpurgarh[129]

Several writers like Atkinson, Gairola, Powell Price, Raturi, Pati Ram and Sankrityayan have touched upon the history of these kingdoms.

Scholars have identified the Bhillang kingdom with the present Bārhāt in Tehri Garhwal District. This can be taken as a tentative identification, for nowhere else this name occurs in this context. This Bhillang kingdom was probably named after river Bhillangana flowing in the eastern part of present Tehri-Garhwal. The kingdom seemed to have extended upto Chāndpurgarh in the east. Sonapāl is attributed to have ruled over here and during his regime, a powerful chief is stated to have arrived in Garhwal from Malwa in Samvat 755 (A. D. 699). The Rājā, named Kanakapāl, on his arrival, "was adopted successor to Rājā Sonapāl, who gave his daughter and sole heir in marriage to him (Kanakapāl)."[130]

We do not know anything more about the Bhillang kingdom. The kingdom at Chāndpurgarh, however, has historical records and its antiquity is well established. Inscriptions belonging to 9th-10th century or even before that are reported to have been discovered from this region. At Ādbadari in the vicinity of ancient Chāndpurgarh, a Garuḍa image contains an inscription of Śaka Saṁvat 900 (A. D. 978).

Chāndpurgarh is associated with the Rājās of Garhwal. While giving the genealogy of the Garhwal Rājās, Beckett placed Kanakapāl as the founder of this Garhwal dynasty. But some of the other lists, like those of Hardwick's, which was given to him by Rājā Praduman Shāh of Garhwal dynasty in 1796 A. D., William's list,[131] Almora list, Tehrī list and Molā Ram's list do not hold Kanakapāl as the founder of Garhwal dynasty. Instead, Ajaypāl is generally considered to be the founder of this dynasty. The question naturally arises as to who was this Kanakapāl ? The issue cannot be set aside simply because the lists are "traditional and historically inaccurate."[132] Kanakapāl, whose reference comes twice once in the list given by Beckett and the other in the traditional account—is undoubtedly a chief of some historical importance. The story tells us that he came from Mālwā and "settled

129. Chāndpurgarh is a later term for the early Chāndpur. The actual seat of government is placed by the scholars in Chaund village in Chāndpur or Chāndpurgarh.

130. Pati Ram, *The History of Garhwal*, p. 45.

131. See all the lists in Atkinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 445-47.

132. Gairola, T. D., "Notes on the Early History of Garhwal Rājās (633-1325 A. D.)," J. U. P. H. S., Vol. XVI, Pt. I, p. 76.

himself in the midlands."[133] This midland may mean Chāndpurgarh, which probably lay between the Joshīmaṭh seat of the Katyūris and the kingdom of Sonapāl at Bāṛhāṭ. It appears that Kanakapāl after achieving success in the region of Garhwal established his seat at Chāndpurgarh, instead of at Bāṛhāṭ, where his father-in-law Sonapāl had been ruling. He seemed to have united the two parts and thus made his kingdom wider than that of his predecessor.

The facts about the history and achievements of this ruler are merely matters of speculation. It is really strange that none from his dynasty succeeded him and thus he remained a solitary figure in the history of Kumaon. A suggestion may be forwarded for the sudden disruption of his line. It appears that the chief who had come from Malwa could not cope up with the local situation. He might have felt it difficult to adjust himself in the hill culture. Then the Katyūris, who had attained strength by that time, might have vied with him to see his (Kanakapāl's) growing importance. And finally, it appears, that this indigenous dynasty (the Katyūris) had probably not allowed the foreigner to enjoy an upper hand in the local political affairs. In such circumstances, therefore, Kanakapāl might have either abandoned the throne or was killed in some local skirmish. All that has been stated above remains only a plausible suggestion till some definite historical records prove it correct, or otherwise.

The period from the 9th century to the advent of Ajaypal, the founder of Garhwal dynasty in the 14th century,[134] is shrouded in a thick veil of oblivion. We cannot say as to what happened with the Chāndpurgarh seat during this period. It was probably abandoned by the Garhwal Rājās as they are said to have transferred their capital to Dewalgarh near the present Śrīnagar in Garhwal. But it seems, however, probable that they kept their sway over that area also.

The Other Kingdoms

The kingdoms of Goviṣāṇa, Brahmapura and Kārttikēyapura have already been discussed. Excepting the Kārttikēyapura kingdom, none of them has evoked much attention of historians. We cannot say whether there was a complete

133. Pati Ram wrote this on the basis of a tradition prevailing in Garhwal that Kanakapāl came from Mālwā, usurped the throne of the ruler after marrying his daughter and settled himself finally. See, Pati Ram, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

134. See Gairola, T. D., *Himalayan Folklore.* p. 9. (On the basis of a few inscriptions at Dewalgarh, he places him in 1264 A. D.)

extinction of the Brahmapura and Govişāņa kingdoms after the 8th century A. D. However, for want of sufficient evidence, we may say that the emergence of the Katyūris, as a powerful dynasty in about 8th century A. D., heralded a new era of political unification in Kumaon.

The Kārttikēyapura Kingdom

The kingdom of Kārttikēyapura is generally associated with the Katyūris. The place, which is so famous in the Kumaon history, has a considerable antiquity. It is known by at least three names. First is Karavīrapura,[135] second Kartiipura[136] and the third Kārttikēyapura.[137] Under the last name, the kingdom reached the culmination of its progress, after this for it was a continuous seat of government of the Katyūris for many centuries.

The Katyūris or Katyūras (The Origin)

The origin and the age of the Katyūri rulers in Kumaon has been controversial. Scholars like Atkinson, Gairola, Powell Price, Pande and Goetz have propounded different theories regarding their origin. There is no unanimity in the opinions of scholars. Hence it is necessary to state their views.

Atkinson[138] was the first to trace their origin from the Kabul valley and connect them with the Kaţors of that region. He says, "We may now conclude that we have carefully and fairly made out a connection between the dynasty ruling west of Indus known as Kaţors and the Kumaon Katyuras."[139]

Gairola based his views on the ancient folk-lore and tradition of Kumaon, which according to him, "show that the Katyūras were a small Khasa tribe who originally dwelt at Joshīmaţh in the north of Garhwal and subsequently immigrated to the Katyūr valley in Kumaon."[140]

Powell Price contented differently and said, "in any case it would seem more probable that they were a remnant of the Kuņinda empire and thus their rise to power presents no difficulties."[141]

135. Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, p. 468.
136. A. P. I., I. 22.
137. Pāņdukeśwar, C. P. G.
138. Apart from Atkinson, we see the same explanation of facts in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its Historians*. App. 'A' pp. 403–427.
139. Atkinson, E. T., *op cit.*, p. 439.
140. Gairola, T. D., *The Himalayan Folklore*, p. 12.
141. Powell Price, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 11.

Pande traced the ancestry of Katyūras to Śāli-Vāhana, the famous king of Ayodhyā, who flourished three to four thousand years ago.[142]

First of all, Atkinson's proposition of connecting the Kaṭors of Kabul with the Katyūris of Kumaon seem ill founded on the following basis:

(a) After describing the political conditions of Kabul and the Kaṭors, he says, "In 961 A. D. Alptegin established the Musalmān dynasty of Ghazni and henceforth the Hindus were the objects of bitter persecution, so that many became Musalmans and others fled to the hills or to India."[143] The above statement goes against the very basis of his theory. The episode of 961 A. D. in the history of Kabul does not fit in the political conditions of Kumaon. The Katyūris cannot be taken to have established themselves in Kumaon after 961 A. D. The general agreement of opinions have been to assign the Katyūris to cir. 8th century A. D.[144] or even earlier.

(b) Further, Atkinson contradicts himself when he says, "the Katyūras......were according to local tradition, the ruling family in Kumaon both before and after the great religious cataclysm of the 8th century."[145]

This statement totally dismisses his assumption that the Katyūris had migrated from Kabul in the 10th cent. A. D.

Powell Price's presumption is also not without objection. To connect the Kuṇindas with the Katyūris will really be a far fetched thing. The Kuṇindas, though singularly a hill tribe with their centres of chief activities in the Kumaon region, cannot be taken to be the remnants of the Katyūris. To prove his contention Price discarded the belief that the Katyūris had their homeland in the valley of Alakanandā or at Joshīmaṭh. About the Kuṇindas, it has been stated that their power started waning after they were repelled by the Kuṣāṇas from the foothills. Hence the presumption of their continuous rule for a thousand years at one place can not be given much weight. The best alternative seems that after the downfall of the Kuṇinda power, the Katyūris occupied the Kārttikēyapura seat in Kumaon after having migrated from Joshīmaṭh in Garhwal.

B. D. Pande's contention to trace out the ancestry of the Katyūris to Sālivāhana, the famous king of Ayodhyā is also without any corroboration.

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142. Pande, B. D., *op. cit.*, p. 148.

143. Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, p 434.

144. This date should be discarded now. The succeeding pages will prove that the Katyūris can be assigned even an earlier date than this.

145. Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, p. 467.

What then was the origin of these Katyūris of Kumaon ? This is really a riddle for which no definite clue is possible. Nevertheless, the theory of Gairola seems to be fairly cogent. The folk-lore and tradition of Kumaon, which he made as the basis of his theory, should contain some truth, for excepting minor interpolations, they are found to be historically correct. The folk-lore and tradition show that the Katyūris were a small Khasa tribe flourishing in the valley of Alakanandā. The fable appears to be true. The Khasas played an interesting role in the history of the entire hill region of northern India. Many independent dynasties ruling in the early mediaeval period in these parts of India seemed to have offshooted from the Khasa stock. And it seems very likely that the Katyūris also, as an extension of the Khasa tribe, proved to be the first historical dynasty of Kumaon.[146a]

The Date

It is difficult to trace the chronology of the Katyūris. Even about the date of their settlement in the Katyūr valley, there are several speculations. In the inscription and copper plate grants so far available, it is really difficult to verify the regnal years. Therefore, in almost all the cases palaeography has only remained helpful in assigning the date. In all, the Katyūris have left behind five copper plate grants and a stone inscription. Almost all of them are interesting and on the basis of their evidence we can draw a tentative list of the Katyūri rulers. The most interesting among these records is the Bāgeśwar temple inscription[146] in Almora District. There are in all about eight rulers mentioned in this record. Sircar has made a suggestion that this stone inscription contains "no less than three grants made by three different kings in favour of the god Vyāghreśvara Deva".[147] He does not say anything about the kings of the first two grants. The third grant, however, attracts his attention. The reason for it is that it mentions Lalitasuradeva as the third in the list. This very king is further known through the Paṇḍukeśvar copper plate grants, which were issued from Kārttikēyapura, dated in the 21st and 22nd years of his reign. Kielhorn assigns the grants of Lalitasuradeva to be of 9th century A. D. on grounds of palaeography.[148] One of the grants was made on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa Saṅkrānti on the third day of the dark half of Māgha in the 21st regnal year of the king. Kielhorn suggests that this date may be 22nd December, 853 A. D. The second grant

146a. The name Katyūri was probably adopted by them later on just after the place-name-Kartripura, which in due course became Kārttikēyapura

146. This inscription is not available now in the temple. A rough transcript of the inscription was published in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol VII. Unfortunately it is very unsatisfactorily edited.

147. Sircar, D. C., 'Some Ancient Kings of Kumaon and Garhwal', *B. V.*, Vol, XII–1951, p. 149.

148. Kielhorn, F., *op. cit.*, p. 178.

made on the occasion of the Viṣuva-Saṅkrānti, on the 15th of the dark half of Kārttika which coincided, according to the above author, with the 25th September, 854 A. D. He further observes, "The two dates themselves do not fix the time of Lalitasuradeva with absolute certainty; but on palaeographical grounds the inscription here published (i. e. the Paṇḍukeśwar inscription of the 21st year of Lalitasuradeva) might well have been written in A. D. 853, and in the whole of the 9th century A. D., there are no two consecutive years which would suit the two dates so well as A. D. 853 and 854 do." [149] The conclusion drawn by the author is very significant and the dates are, therefore, more or less well established. On the basis of Kielhorn's calculation, Sircar has assigned the four rulers, viz. Nimbarta, Iṣṭagaṇa, Lalitasura and Bhūdeva to the period between 790 and 870 A. D. [150]

Though the above dates worked out by Sircar are valuable, they do not fulfil our aim. But it cannot either be denied that on the basis of it we can tentatively date the establishment of the house of Katyūris in Kumon. As already noted, the Bāgeśwar stone inscription, though full of doubtful transcript and translation, gives us a list of eight rulers.[151] The suggestion of Sircar that this inscription contains three charters seems to be fairly correct. But at the same time it appears as if almost all the kings of different charters have some sort of relationship with each other. This further makes us to presume that all these kings of different charters, belonging to one dynasty, ascended the throne in order of succession as given in the inscription. Sircar himself agrees in one of his papres that the kings of the second charter "flourished later than those mentioned in the first charter . ...but before the kings known from the third charter." [152]

Now if Sircar's date of 790 A.D. assigned to Nimbarta is acceptable for the present reconstruction of Katyūri history, there would be no difficulty in fixing the date of the first ruler of this inscription. There are in all five (including the nameless) kings before the ascendancy of Nimbarta. And if each of them is roughly assigned a period of twenty years, the date of the first king, namely, Basantana or Masantana would come to c. 690 A. D. This date fits well in the political condition of Kumaon. As stated earlier, the diminishing Tibetan sway encouraged the petty rulers of

149. *Ibid.* f.n. 12.

150. Sircar, D.C., *op. cit.*, p. 150.

151. Apart from the names of eight kings, one more nameless ruler is put as the son of Basantanadeva. This adds one more ruler to the list of eight kings and thus makes the number as nine.

152. Sircar, D.C., 'Kumaon and Garhwal,' *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, Vol. IV, p. 122.

Kumaon and Garhwal to carve out independent principalities. It seems to have been the case of the Katyūri dynasty also. Tradition tells us that Vasudeva was the founder of this dynasty. "The ancient tempale of Vasudeva at Joshimath is said to bear the name of the first of the Katyūri kings as Śri Basdeo Girirāj Chakra Chūrāmaṇi." [153]

Who was this Vasudeva? We have no other reference to the existence of this king. Rahul Sankrityayan has identified him with Basantana, the first king in the Bāgeśwar stone inscription.[154] It seems untenable as there is no convincing proof in support of this. Moreover, the names Vasudeva and Basantana differ from each other. It seems that these two persons, though belonging to one dynasty, were quite different and flourished in two different periods. It would not be inappropriate to put forth a suggestion that Vasudeva was the first king of the Katyūri dynasty flourishing at Joshimath. His status, it seems, would have been that of a petty chief, but definitely superior to other contemporary powers of the region. It is very likely that this king was probably responsible in routing Rājā Kanakapāl from Chāndpurgarh.

It seems that the last quarter of 7th century witnessed a family feud,[155] which probably resulted in the migration of Katyūris to Kārttikēyapura, modern Baijnāth in Almora District. The ruler, to establish the house at Kārttikēyapura, may thus be taken as Basantana. As stated already, his date may be tentatively put as the last quarter of 7th cent. A. D., which may also be fixed as the initial date of the house of Katyūris at Kārttikēyapura.

The Dynastic History of the Katyūris of Kumaon

Before writing the history of this dynasty, we may take into consideration the inscriptions, which are the only basis of our history.

153. Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, p. 467.

154. Sankrityayan, Rahul, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

155. There are two traditions about the Katyūri immigration from Joshimath to the Katyūr valley. Firstly the mythological story runs like this: While king Vasudeva had gone to jungles for hunting, Narasiṁha taking the shape of a man visited the palace and asked for food from the qeen. The Rānī gave him sufficient to eat. After eating, he lay down on the Rājā's bed. When the Rājā returned, he saw a stranger asleep on his bed. He drew his sword and struck him on the arm, but instead of blood milk flowed from the wound. The Rājā was terrified. The man disclosed him that he was 'Narasiṁha.' As he was pleased with him he had come to him, but now by his (king's) fault he will have to leave the pleasant place—Jyotirdhām—and go to Katyūr and establish the seat there. Another story simply tells us that a family quarrel caused a branch to migrate to the Katyūr valley in Kumaon. Out of these two the latter seems to be sound,

As noted briefly, the Katyūris have left in all five copper plates[156] and one stone inscription at Bāgeśwar. They are as follows :

1 Pāṇḍukeśvar Copper Plate of Lalitasuradeva – Year 21

2. ... .Year 22

3. Bāleśvar Copper Plate Grant of Deśaṭa.......................... . ...Year 5

4. Pāṇḍukeśvar Copper Plate grant of Padmaṭa.............................Year 25

5. Pāṇḍukeśvar Copper Plate grant of Śubhiksharājadeva..................Year 4

6. Bāgeśwar Stone inscription of Bhūdeva

Genealogy according to Bāgeśwar inscription

1. Srī Basantana or Masantanadeva
   |
   Nameless king

2. Śrī Kharparadeva[156a]
   |
   Śrī Kalyāṇarājadeva
   |
   Śrī Tribhuvanarājadeva

3. Śrī Nimbartadeva or Nimbaradeva
   |
   Śrī Ishṭaranadeva or Iṣṭagaṇadeva
   |
   Śrī Lalitasuradeva
   |
   Śrī Bhūdevadeva or Bhudeva

156. The copper plates were preserved in the temple of Yogabadarī at Pāṇḍukeśvar. Four of them are now in possession of the Badarināth Temple Committee. The writer had an opportunity of examining them personally. Fortunatly, almost all of them are now published.

156ª. Atkinson and other earlier writers take him as the son of the nameless king. Even some others put him as the son of Basantana. But the transcript does not show anything like this. See *J.A.S.B*, Vol. 1838, pp. 1056–58.

Genealogical list according to Lalitasuradeva inscriptions–Years 21 and 22

1. Nimbar–Nāśu Devī
 |
 Iṣṭagaṇadeva–Vega Devī
 |
 Lalitasuradeva–Sāma Devı

(1) *Plate of Lalitasuradeva–year 22*

1. Nimbara–Nāśū Devī
 |
 Iṣṭagaṇadeva–Vega Devī
 |
 Lalitasuradeva

(2) *Plate of Padmaṭadeva–Year 25*

Saloṇāditaya–Siṅghuvali Devī
 |
 Ichchhaṭa–Siṅghū Devī
 |
 Dēsaṭadeva–Padmallā Devī
 |
 Padmaṭadeva

(3) *Plate of Subhikṣarājadeva–Year 4*

Saloṇāditya
 |
 Ichchhaṭadeva–Īśāna Devī
 |
 Subhikṣarājadeva

The available inscriptions do not tell us much about the political achievements of these rulers. However, there is sufficient scope to construct a picture of the social, religious and administrative conditions of the age.

Before taking up all these aspects, one point should be noted at the very outset that the inscription and grants do not supply us a connected list of the rulers of Katyūri dynasty. No fiṇal reason can be forwarded for this sort of arrangement. However, it can be presumed that almost every king of these records belonged to the Katyūri dynasty.

Basantana

Basantana, who has been credited to be the founder of this dynasty at Kārttikēyapura, was succeeded by his son, whose name is missing in the

Bāgeśwar inscription. Basantana, who might have been probably a chief of lesser strength than his successor, was also titled as a king of kings (Paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja). This seems to have no value and the epithet was probably added by the donor of the grant out of sheer feeling of respect. But Basantana seems to have been a pious ruler and was the follower of Śaivism. His son, whose name is missing, was an equally devout ruler. He donated some villages to the Vaiṣṇavas as well and revived the grant given by his father. Apart from his religious acts, the king is stated to have built many rest-houses all along the public roads.

The line of Basantana seems to have ceased after only two generations and after it probably a cousin or some one else who was next of kin to the first line succeeded the throne. This king is known as Kharparadeva. We do not have anything to record about this king. But it seems that he could not acquire any other territory for his empire than what he got from his predecessors His son Kalyāṇarājadeva, though bearing the usual title of Mahārājādhirāja, does not seem to have been politically powerful, as we do not get any account about him in the inscriptions. His successor, Tribhuvana-rājadeva has, however, an important account in the inscription. But politically, he also lacks victories to his credit. His pious act of donation, is nevertheless, emphasised like his early predecessor's. This king had close links with a 'Kirātaputra,' who is stated to have donated a field of two and a half droṇa yield-capacity in favour of the same god (Vyāghreśvaradeva).

This line met the same fate as that of the earlier ones. After the last ruler Tribhuvanarājadeva, we do not know of any other successor of this line. Instead, Nimbartadeva of another line succeeds him. Nothing can be said about the relationship of these rulers of different branches. But it seems that they all belonged to one family and succeeded each other in a natural course. [157]

Nimbartadeva

At the accession of this king, the position of the ruling house appears to have changed considerably. One advantage regarding this line of kings is that all of them are also described in the Pāṇḍukeśvar copper plates. And, therefore, we know comparatively more about them. Nimbarta is said to be the first ruler having gained sufficient power. Though unendowed with

157. The succession of these lines seems to have taken place in a natural manner. There is no hint anywhere of a family quarrel that ensued the accession of any one of them. Moreover, the donor equally emphasises the good deeds done by all the kings of various lines.

imperial titles, he is known in the records as a fighter of wars, who vanquished his enemies "as the rising sun dispels the mist."[158] Powell Price holds that the victory probably referred to some war with the Pālas.[159] Previously, Atkinson and a few other scholars have drawn a similarity of the Pāṇḍukeśvar plates with the Pāla inscriptions. Atkinson compared them with the Monghyr Plate and the Bhāgalpur inscription of the Pāla rājās. He contented further that the tribal name of the writer of these grants from Pāṇḍukeśvar is Bhadra, which is quite similar to that of the Pāla grants. The dedication and verses are also the same [160] On the basis of it, almost all the scholars and particularly Powell Price concluded that there was a Pāla invasion on Kumaon, which ultimately resulted in a treaty and by which, in all probability, the hill rājās were enrolled as supporters of the Pālas. And further, this would explain the imitation of Pāla records.

This conclusion appears to be fairly correct. About Dharmapāla, it is said that 'he went to extirpate the wicked and plant the good and happily his salvation was effected at the same time; for his servants visited Kedāra and drank milk according to the law'[161]

From the above statement, it seems that king Dharmapāla carried on his march upto Kumaon after extirpating other enemies of the Gangetic plains. He also seems to have conquered the ruler of Kumaon, i.e. Nimbartadeva, who was himself sufficiently powerful, but had probably failed in achieving success. The very fact that he was not endowed with imperial titles shows that he had to accept the suzerainty of some power. This was probably Dharmapāla, who was quite invincible.[162]

158. Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, 1.3, p. 473.
159. Powell Price, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 13.
160. Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, p. 478.
161. *Ibid.*,
162. The Dhruvaswāminī episode referred to by Rājaśekhara in a verse in his Kāvyamīmāmsā was probably composed by some court poet of Dharmapāla after his victory of Kārttikeyapura kingdom of Kumaon. It seems that before the advent of the Katyūris in Kārttikeyapura, some barbaric Khasiya ruler had occupied this seat of government for a short while. He was probably invaded by some later imperial Gupta King, who met defeat at the hands of this Khasa ruler or Khasādhipati. The Khasādhipati had probably captured Dhruvaswāminī, the wife of the Gupta King. It was probably a disastrous failure and a humiliating defeat to the Gupta king. This very incident of Kārttikeyapura (or Kārttikeyanagara) has probably remained an unforgettable episode for many centuries. And, therefore, when Dharmapāla again invaded the same Kārttikeyapura kingdom in about the beginning of 9th century, his victory was taken as of great significance; and hence the court poet composed the verse stating the fact that at the very place (Kārttikeyanagara), where the Khasādhipati had defeated Śarmagupta or Senagupta, the praises of the king (Dharmapāla) for his victory are sung by

The immediate causes of resemblance between the copper plate grants and the Pāla records can be verified without any difficulty. It seems that after the defeat of Nimbartadeva no immediate arrangements could be made to copy the Pāla records. The Kumaon ruler, who was probably compelled to sign a treaty, did not issue any charter. His grandson Lalitasuradeva was probably responsible for bringing out this resemblance. It appears that he was actually influenced by the Pāla records and had copied them in his grants.

Though Nimbarta suffered a defeat, he was probably a strong ruler of Kumaon offering a tough resistance to the invaders.

Apart from his bravery, Nimbartadeva is eloquently praised for being a devout Śaiva. He was endowed with kindness (dayā), courtesy (dākshiṇya), truthfulness (satya), virtuous dispositon (Sattva Śīla) and liberality (audārya).

Nimbarta seems to have been the first builder of the Katyūri dynasty. The Vimānas at Jāgeśver are contemporary to his period and may be taken to have been built by him. If this is accepted then his devotion to Śaivism is proved by the fact that he selected the most sacred site of Kumaon, namely Jāgeśvar, for such construction.

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the women of Kārttikēyanagara. This verse characterised as 'Kathotta' was probably incorporated by Rājaśekhara in his Kāvyamīmāṁsā.

The above episode has, however, been interpreted differently by the scholars. Generally, it has been taken as an episode of the Gupta period, viz. Rāmagupta and Chandragupta II. But it is not acceptable to the present writer on the following grounds :

Firstly, during the time of Chandragupta II, the Kuṇindas, though defunct, were ruling in Kārttikēyapura. And we have seen that they were not the Khasas, but an indigenous people. As already stated, the episode had taken place with some Khasiya chief, who had probably captured the seat of Kārttikēyapura for a short time. But this seems to have taken place only after the Kuṇindas and before the ascendancy of the Katyūris at Kārttikēyapura.

Secondly, in Samudragupta's Praśasti, the name Kārttikēyapura does not occur at all. It is known as Kartṛipura. The name Kārttikēyapura seems to be a later derivation of about the 6th–7th century A.D. Therefore, the argument remains in the field that if the episode was contemporary to the early Gupta monarchs, why did not the poet use Kartṛipura instead of Kārttikēyanagra ?

All these points suggest to the present writer that the episode belonged to a later period. And hence, it cannot be tagged on to Rāmagupta of the Gupta dynasty. It appears that the episode referred to another Chandragupta, who should be designated as Chandragupta III. Though this personality is itself a subject of controversy, his coins have been discovered long back and are described by Allan. This is only a tentative suggestion till some more light is available on it.

Iṣṭagaṇa

Iṣṭagaṇa succeeded his father in about 810 A. D. He was equally powerful. Except for his military attainments, we do not gather anything else about his personal life. That he fought with his enemies is porved by the statement that the "edge of his sword slew furious elephants."[163] On the basis of this statement, Atkinson correctly postulated that the reference to this indicated "that the invader must have come from the plains,"[164] because the elephants could hardly be used by a hill-tribe against another. It seems that the political conditions of Kumaon and particularly of the foot-hill region were wrapped up with severe conflicts. To subdue all these powers would have been a strenuous task. The statement about the extermination of elephants is not in any way an exaggeration. Earlier, it has been pointed out that the period between the 6th and 7th centuries is marked by the formation of small kingdoms in the entire Kumaon region. It appears that Iṣṭagaṇadeva had to dispel some of these petty princes who might have suddenly raised their heads and who probably had occupied during this anarchy the foothill regions like Goviṣāṇa, parts of Hardwār and Dehradun. It was, therefore, quite obvious to say that the king might have crushed in war the elephants belonging to these petty rulers. The purpose for his fight might have been, therefore, the unification of the entire Himalayan region. Hence, the reference to the elephants may not be a mere exaggeration.

Iṣṭagaṇa thus appears to have successfully unified the entire Kumaon region and ruled over the whole Kingdom from Kārttikēyapura For this unification he seems to have uprooted almost all his neighbouring adversaries.

He was a devout worshipper of Śiva (paramamāheśvaraḥ). Like his father, therfore, he seems to have selected the old site of Jāgeśvar for the construction of shrines. At Jāgeśvar, the second set of temples, consisting of the Navadurgā, the Mahiṣamardinī, the Lakulīśa and the Naṭarāja, can be attributed to him. On the basis of stylistic considerations also, all of them have been taken to be contemporary to this king.

Lalitasuradeva (A. D. 835)

Unlike his father and grandfather, Lalitasuradeva inherited a vast empire. His father, who is endowed with many victories, seems to have united the whole of Kumaon. Like his father he is also praised for his success in war. It is stated in

163. Atkinson, E.T., *op. cit.*, p.578.

164. *Ibid.*, p. 483.

the inscriptions that "he played the part of the excellent boar (i.e. the god Viṣṇu in the boar incarnation)......who is a fire or prowess to the circle of his enemies who vanished before the omnipresent force of his natural intelligence and greatness; who frightens the host of his enemies over and over again, as the lion does the elephant cubs by his curling mane, by the terrific frown of his brows when (his adversaries) begin to collect great strength; the seeds of whose fame were to grow up into garlands, thrown on him in the scope of wreaths of flowers of the bracelets dropping from the trembling wrists of celestial damsels who were distressed with bashfulness at seeing him first embracing the excellent amorous lady (viz. the fortune of victory) as she was forcibly drawn to him by the superior strength of his mite, yet ringing, sword and arrows (and); who keeps (other) kings of the earth at peace by his rule over it that has been subdued by having recourse to the strength of his bow, bent by his massive arm, just as Pṛithu firmly fixed the chief mountains in their places in order to tend the cow, brought into subjection by means of his bow." [165]

The above description in praise of the king is very significant. Though usually the inscriptions contain this sort of statements, it cannot be wholly taken as an exaggeration. At least some part of it should be taken as of some consideration. Lalitasuradeva, like his grandfather Nimbartadeva, had to probably check the incursions from plains. The Pālas, who were very powerful during these days, must have created troubles for this king of Kumaon as well. Devapāla (810–850) "is said to have exacted tributes from the whole of northern India from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas and from the eastern to the western ocean." [166] We cannot definitely determine whether Devapāla's imperial designs affected the king Lalitasuradeva also. But the Monghyr Copper Plate eloquently speaks of his influence in the aforesaid region. [167] It shows that Lalitasuradeva, who is extolled so high in his records, came in conflict with some strong force of his times. Considering the political conditions of his age, we cannot take any one else but Devapāla, who must have invaded Kumaon like his father Dharmapāla. It seems that Devapāla could not have achieved a total success. However, Lalitasuradeva had to bear the burnt of the pressure and hence he came to an honourable settlement with the Pāla king.

It appears very likely that this very fact resulted in the imitation of Pāla records by the Kumaon rājās.

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165. Sircar, D.C., *op. cit.*, p. 281.
166. Majumdar, R. C., "The Pālas", *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, Vol. IV, p. 60.
167. *Ibid.*

Lalitasurudeva was known as "a devout worshipper of Maheśa and devoted to the supreme Brahmā (or exceedingly liberal to Brahmā)."[168] He seems to have worshipped Viṣṇu also as is indicated in the inscription by his own comparison with the god (Viṣṇu).

We cannot say whether he took part in building activities like his predecessors. Though he might have been preoccupied more with his defence problem, he might have constructed some shrines.

Bhūdeva (875 A. D.)

Bhūdeva ascended the throne of his illustrious father Lalitasuradeva in probably 875 A. D. We have no sufficient records of him. Even the grants from Pāṇḍukeśvar do not contain any reference to him. It is only from the Bāgeśwar inscription that his existence is known. But even that does not convey in details his military attainments or any other activity.

In the Bāgeswar inscriptiption he is described as 'king of kings'.[169] This statement indicates that he had also inherited a vast empire from his father, after which he probably looked very ably. The statement that his "ears were frequently troubled by the sound of the jewels of the crowns of rājās, who bowed before him and whose great weapon destroyed darkness,"[170] indicates that the rājās who were subjugated by his father and who paid obeisance to the Katyūri rājās continued to do so during his regime also.

He was religious, served the Brāhmaṇas (Brahma-parāyaṇa) and was a great enemy of Buddha śravan (or śramaṇa) (param Buddha śravaṇa ripu). This statement is highly significant since it clearly proves that he totally discarded Buddhism.

He also seems to have participated in building activities like his predecessors. And the initial temple of Bāgeśwar including some of the original shrines, not extant now, at Baijnāth may be safely attributed to him.[171]

168. Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, p. 478.

169. *J.A.S.B.*, p. 1056.

170. *Ibid.*

171. The stone inscription was found on the temple of Bāgeśwar. Though the original shrine does not exist today, it seems that after its fall a new structure was built upon it. The temple as it exists today is a later construction. And as will be described elsewhere, it belongs to about 12th-13th century A. D. About Baijnāth also we can simply postulate on the basis of its tradition that the site has an age-long antiquity and it is said even today that several temples of this place are built on some earlier structures.

Collateral Line

Bhūdeva, the last ruler of the line of Nimbarta, was probably succeeded by a collateral line of kings. D. C. Sircar thought that since the house of Saloṇāditya flourished later than that of Lalitasura, it is very likely that "the house of Lalitasura may have been overthrown shortly after his son's (Bhūdeva) rule by Saloṇāditya or his son who was thus the founder of a new line of kings at Kārttikēyapura." [172] The contention of Sircar seems to be untenable since there is no evidence about overthrowing the house of Lalitasura by any of the succeeding lines. Moreover, the earlier line of rulers succeeded another branch of rulers in the same manner. This has been already discussed in the preceding pages. It is, however, worthwhile to say once again that all these rulers of Kārttikēyapura belonged to one family and succeeded the throne one after the other in quite a peaceful manner.

The list of the kings of this line is available from a separate set of inscriptions. In all, this line of kings has three inscriptions. Two of them are the Copper Plate grants kept together with the plates of Lalitasuradeva and the third is preserved in the temple at Bāleśwar, Almora District. All of them are known by separate names. The first belongs to Desaṭa, while the second and third are assigned to Padmaṭa and Subhiksharāja.

Saloṇāditya (895 A. D.)

All the records agree in placing Saloṇāditya as the founder of this line. Like Nimbartadeva, grandfather of Lalitasuradeva, Saloṅāditya is mentioned without imperial titles. But he is described to have established his power "in the numerous powerful circles of his enemies......acquired by his own slender arms, which had been purified by the dust of the lotus-feet of the holy Chandraśekhara (Śiva)" [173]

We cannot verify this statement and neither can we say with whom the king had to fight. In the north, the seat of Kanauj was so powerful as to be able to subdue almost all the petty rulers. R. S. Tripathi believed that "Mihir Bhoja's suzerainty was certainly acknowledged upto the foot of the Himalayas." [174] He based his remark on the discovery of an inscription in Gorakhapur District, wherein the donation of land by the king to a Kalchuri family is described. The region which Tripathi meant is the Tarāi

172. Sircar, D. C , *op. cit.*, Vol. XXXI, Pt. VI, p. 285.

173. Ibid., p. 288.

174. Tripathi, R. S., *History of Kanauj*, 1937, p. 239.

area bordering India and Nepal. This has nothing to do with Kumaon. But even then we can surmise that due to the fear of a growing power, the Kumaon ruler, viz. Saloṇāditya, had to mobilise his forces for the act of defence. And therefore, it appears that the reference to wars in the inscriptions may probably stand for such incursions in his territory.

Like his predecessors he was a devout king. He whorshipped Śiva and Nandādevī[175] and was fully endowed with all the virtues. For his good deeds, he is compared with Sagara, Dilīpa, Māndhātṛi, Dhundumāra, Bharata, Bhagīratha, Daśaratha and other kings of the golden age.

Nothing is known about his other activities. Particularly, we do not know about his architectural activities. If he can be assigned to some temples in Kumaon, they may be at Baijnāth only. However, there is nothing sufficient to prove it.

Ichchhaṭadeva

Saloṇāditya was succeeded by his son Ichchhaṭadeva probably in about A. D. 920. There is nothing noteworthy about this king. The period of his reign seems to have been uneventful. And, therefore, the inscriptions remain silent about his achievements—both political and religious.

Desaṭadeva

Ichchhaṭadeva, who probably ruled for a short period, was succeeded by his son Desaṭadeva in c. 930 A. D.

He is also known, like his grandfather, as the fighter of wars, "who crushed the entire circle of his enemies." [176]

It is difficult to say as to what episode the above statement refers to. However, it seems that the conditions in north India were not in any way conducive to set up a strong rule. Desaṭa, unlike his father, was probably an ambitious ruler. And therefore, he might have checked the incursions of the political fugitives, who had probably been driven away by Mahīpāla, the Pratihāra ruler.

He was a devout worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva) and was extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas. He showed compassion towards the poor, helpless wretched, afflicted and the seekers of protection. In the inscriptions

175. The worship of Nandādevī is taken as of utmost importance from quite an ancient past. The goddess has her temple in the Almora District and is still in the state of daily worship

176. Sircar, D. C., *op. cit.*, p. 289.

he is extolled as a giver of gold offerings in favour of the leaders of the best Brāhmaṇas from the Prāchya, Udīchya, Pratīchya, and Dākshinātya countries (or from the eastern, northern, western and southern quarters)."[177]

We cannot say whether he also added some more shrines in the already existing monuments erected by his predecessors. Nevertheless, it can be surmised that since he was a devout ruler, he must have contributed to some degrees to the monuments of Kumaon. But further evidence to establish this view is awaited.

Padmaṭadeva

Padmaṭa, who was comparatively a powerful king, succeeded his father probably in c. 945 A. D. [178] He issued his own grant and was followed in the same manner by his son as well.

It is said about Padmaṭa that he "acquired by the might of his arms unnumbered provinces on all sides, the owners of which coming to make him obeisance poured forth such incessant gifts of horses, elephants and jewels before him that they held in contempt the offerings made to Indra." [179]

It seems that this king was more powerful than his predecessors. He seemed to have occupied some portions of the present Moradabad-Ramnagar area and even as far as Bareilly. Nothing can be said about his vassals. It is highly probable that he completely subjugated almost all the rājās flourishing in the neighbourhood of the Kārttikēyapura kingdom. From the above statement in his inscription, it appears that some of the rājās already under the suzerainty of the Katyūri rulers held the arms aloft to fight against their overlord. The suppression of this political upheaval is probably referred to in his inscription.

Like his father he was also a devout worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva).

He was a charitable king. An interesting epithet of this king claims that in charity he excelled even Bali, Vaikartana, Dadhīchi and Chandragupta. Sircar has rightly suggested that "this Chandragupta mentioned along with certain mythical personages, is no doubt the celebrated Rājā Vikramāditya of Indian tradition and folklore. Although the activities of all the Gupta Vikramādityas appear to have contributed to the growth of

177. *Ibid.*

178. On the basis of palaeography, Sircar has assigned the grants of Padmaṭa and his son Subhikshharājadeva to the second quarter of the tenth century.

179. Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, p. 484.

Vikramāditya saga, the hero of the legends has rightly been identified with king Chandragupta II (376-414 A. D.) of the Gupta dynasty."[180]

During the glorious period of this king, it is quite logical to assume that some of the existing monuments of Kumaon and Garhwal were built. A few shrines at Joshīmaṭh, Nālā and Bhetā (or Nārāyaṇ koṭi) in Garhwal and the rest at Baijnāth in Almora are of this period.

Subhiksharājadeva

Padmaṭadeva was succeeded by his son Subhiksharājadeva in about the second quarter of tenth century.

Some description throwing minor sidelights on him is available from his inscription.

Nothing remarkable is said about his military attainments. However, it seems that he checked the ambitious vassal rulers and "destroyed the expansion of the arrogance of the stone staff-like arms of the enemies by forcibly carrying away their fortune."[181] This is quite obvious since it was the culminating point of the Katyūri success. Subhiksharāja seems to have enjoyed a great success in almost all the fields of his activities.

He was a well read person, "whose body is adorned with all the groups of arts acquired with ease and who has removed far away the collection of the darkness (of ignorance)........by the lustre of the light of the scriptures completely mastered (by him)."[182]

Unlike his predecessors he was a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu and was extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas.

It is very significant that he was a devout Vaiṣṇava. He must have built some of the Viṣṇu and Durgā shrines of the Kumaon region. In this inscription, it is clearly stated that the grant of lands was made by the king in favour of the three gods, viz. Durgādevī, Nārāyaṇa and Brahmeśvara.

Another notable feature of this king is that he issued the charter from Subhikshapura rather than from the usual Kārttikēyapura. Atkinson suggested that this Subhikshapura was most probably another name for Kārttikēyapura.[183] There is no doubt that the city was named after the name of

180. Sircar, D. C., *op. cit.*, p. 291.

181. *Ibid.*, p. 297.

182. *Ibid.*

183. Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, p. 483.

the king and was his capital; but whether it was situated near about his ancestral capital Kārttikēyapura cannot be determined definitely.

Decline of the Katyūris

Subhiksharājadeva was the last king, whose illustrious reign probably ended in the last quarter of the 10th century A. D. All the later Katyūri rulers were cruel and tyrannical. Though we have no sufficient records about them, tradition tells us of the cruelty and oppression of Dhāmadeva and Bīradeva, the last two Katyūri kings.

Bīradeva shocked the minds of the people by forcibly marrying his own aunt.[184]

After the death of Bīradeva dissension broke out and the kingdom was split up between the members of his family. One settled in Doṭī, another in Askoṭ, third in Bārāmaṇḍal and the fourth at Dwārahāt and Lakhanpur, while the Katyūr valley and Dānpur were probably held by the main line of the family.

The Katyūri Families

Though all these smaller dynasties do not come before us with remarkable records, it is, however, essential to study briefly their historical existence, for we know from their own inscriptions at Dwārahāt that they built almost all the shrines at the aforesaid place.

We have the evidence of about seven families of Katyūris, who branched off from the main line. The most important among them were the following :—

1. The Katyūris of Dwārahāt
2. The Katyūris of Doṭī and
3. The Katyūris of Sīrā

Among all of them, the Katyūris of Dwārahāt come before us as great builders. We do not know much about their achievements in general, but a few inscriptions at Dwārahāt and nearby places tell us that Rājā Mānadeva granted land to one Vasudeva Tripathi in Śaka year 1259 (1337 A. D.); Rājā Somadeva built a naulā or pond at Dwārahāt in Śaka year 1271 (1349 A. D.) and installed the image of Gaṇeśa at Gaṇāi-Chaukhutiyā in Śaka year 1276 (1354 A. D.).

184. Tradition states that the two litter-beares wearied by his tyranny and profligacy flung themselves and the Rājā over the cliff and so perished.

With the help of these inscriptions, we are able to build up a tentative genealogical list :—

Gurjaradeva[185]
|
Suddhāradeva
|
Mānadeva
|
Somadeva

The first name is interesting as we get a temple of the same name at Dwārahāt. It is, therefore, quite likely that this king might have built the shrine after his name. Apart from this ruler, the entire dynasty seems to have taken utmost interest in building activity. And with this very interest they built up the whole Dwārahāt and some adjoining places as the most prolific centres for monuments in the entire Kumaon region.

The other houses of Doṭī and Sīrā have nothing to boast of. Hence, we do not know anything significant about them. Almost all of these houses of the Katyūris, probably, remained engaged in family quarrels and so they were not free from the problem of defence. The house of Dwārahāt was the only powerful and stubborn branch to drive out the aggressor. By this very compatibility, it could be able to contribute something substantial towards the art and architecture of Kumaon.

Rise of the Chands

While Kumaon was thus broken up once again into a number of petty principalities, a family established itself in the eastern part of the region after migrating from the plains. This dynasty similar to its predecessor—the Katyūris—brought about successfully another period of unification in the history after an interval of chaos and anarchy. The founder of this dynasty was Soma Chand, a Somavaṁśi or Chandravaṁśī Rājpūt.

There are two views about his first footing in Kumaon. The first informs us that Brahmadeva Katyūri on settling in Sūi range was opposed by the Rāwat Rājā of Domkot. The Katyūri king had no power to enforce allegiance to his authority. The people themselves were divided into factions each having a leader. So there was a complete chaos and the matters remained worst for several years. The usual insecurity of person and property led the people to think about the measures, which would end the situation and bring about peace and perfect harmony. The chief men of

185. Tripathi, Ram Datt, *Kumaon kā Itihās*, pp. 220–25.

Kumaon accordingly despatched a trusty messenger to the courts of northern India and select a Rājā for them. During those days the Somavaṁśis of Kanauj were famous throughout and Soma Chand, a member of the family, was found at Jhūsi in Prayāg. He was invited by the people to assume the charge of responsibilities. Another view makes Soma Chand, the brother of the reigning Rāja of Kanauj and states that while on a pilgrimage to Badarināth he met Brahmadeva, the Katyūri king, who was much impressed by the young visitor from Kanauj. He was invited by the feeble old king to remain in Kumaon. Soma Chand consented and married the daughter of Brahmadeva and with her received as dowry fifteen bisis[186] of land in Champāwat and considerable grants in the Bhābar and Tarāi area.

Chand Chronology

The chronology of Chand dynasty has remained a vexed problem. So many dates have been proposed by scholars for the first establishment of the house in Kumaon. Out of them two are commonly acceptable for Soma Chand's accession. One is 742 or 757 V. S. corresponding to 685 or 700 A. D.; and the other is 1235 V. S. or 1178 A. D. It is, however, difficult to reconcile these. Atkinson also felt like this and, therefore, gave three principal lists, which for convenience he called A. B. and C.[187] These three lists were obtained by him from various sources. These lists do agree with each other, but differ in the length of reigns of kings and in the order of succession. On the basis of these lists, Atkinson worked out a date for Chand's occupation in Kumaon. Goetz in an ably written paper proposed another date for the first occupation of the Chand's in Kumaon. Let us examine the various propositions propounded by these scholars.

Atkinson is not inclined to accept the first date, i. e.. 700 A. D. He thinks that in this case "we shall have to crowd the coming of Śaṅkara, the vast political revolutions consequent on the downfall of Buddhism, the reigns of thirteen Katyūri Rājās known from the inscriptions (three from whom ruled over twenty years each) and the reigns of their successors into sixty-six years, between the visit of Hieun-Tsang and the accession of Soma Chand."[188] On such reasons Atkinson assigned 1010 Saṁvat or 953 A. D. for the accession of Soma Chand.[189]

186. Bisi means Bighā.

187. Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, p. 499.

188. *Ibid.*, p. 502.

189. Atkinson very ably argues that for such an early date i. e. 700 A. D., we will have to change the entire chronology of the Chands. The belief that a Khasia interregnum [illegible] as an interruption in the Chand chronology is discarded by Atkinson and thus he advocates the above date i. e. 953 A D. for Soma Chand's accession.

Goetz, on the basis of existing monuments and other available evidences, gave a different date to the accession of Soma Chand. On the basis of a study of the temple-types at Jāgeśwar, he assigns to Soma Chand "the second half of the 9th century when the Jāgeśwar temples had been built."[190] He further says that the site had about three phases of construction. The first, consisting of the Vimānas of Jāgeśwar, i. e. the Mṛtyuñjaya and Jāgeśwar, belongs to the earliest period. They were probably constructed by the Katyūri rulers. The second set of temples belong to the period between the fall of the Gupta civilization and the Pratihāra and Rāṣṭrakūṭa empires. He attributed the construction of this set of temples to Soma Chand, the first ruler of the Chand dynasty.

Goetz's assumption of attributing these shrines to the first ruler of Chand dynasty and thus suggesting an earlier date for his accession cannot be accepted easily. Apart from the Vimānas of Jegeśwar, the second set of temples, though possessing some alien attributes—such as the transversal roof, the distinct storeyed arrangement in the steep tower, etc.—seem to have been constructed just after the completion of the first set. There are some borrowings in elements in these shrines also from the earlier group of temples. Hence the contention of Goetz to assign them to Soma Chand does not seem to be convincing. Instead, we can say that they were also built by the later Katyūri rulers.

Further, Goetz puts forth an assumption that the artistic activities at Dwārahāt started in about 1029 to 1048 A. D. "followed by a second flare-up of activities between 1143 and 1219."[191] This sudden and for a small state artistic activity can be explained only by an assumption that the Dwārahāt Katyūris achieved a sudden power after a political revolution. And this could have happened only after the fall of the earlier Chand empire. Thus Goetz suggests a mid-date for this catastrophe as before 1029 A. D. discarding the date 1055, which was proposed by Atkinson. He further remarks that "if the date of the Vaṁśāvalī must be too early for the first Chand dynasty, those of Atkinson prove to be too late."[192] In this way, as stated briefly, Goetz propounded a new date for the accession of the first Chand ruler as cir. 850 A. D. and its end in about 1059 A. D.

The date propounded by Goetz cannot be accepted due to the following reasons :

190. Goetz, H., "The Chronology of the Chand Dynasty and Mediaeval Monuments of Kumaon," *J. I. H.*, Vol. XXIX, Pt. 1, p. 86.

191. *Ibid.*

192. *Ibid.*

(a) The temples of Jāgeśwar, though having three phases, evidently show that due to their similarity the first two phases of construction were completed by a dynasty of rulers—the Katyūris. Hence it is erroneous to assign the second group of temples at Jāgeśwar to the Chands and thus bring back the date of the dynasty.

(b) As we have seen, the Katyūris had a powerful sway upto the third quarter of the 10th centnry. Goetz's assumption, therefore, of cir. 850 A. D. as the initial date of the Chand's does not appear to be sound. If it is accepted, the whole chronology of the Katyūri rulers would be disturbed.

From the above considerations, it appears, therefore, that the date propounded by Goetz is too early for the first Chand occupation of Kumaon.

Atkinson's date of 953 A. D., though not very early, does not also correspond very well with the Katyūri chronology. As a matter of fact, the whole issue should be treated afresh in the light of existing evidences. We know that the Katyūris ruled upto the third quarter of the 10th century. Then followed an internal dissension and the later Katyūri rulers Bīradeva and Brahmadeva were quite incompetent to suppress this uprising. It seems, therefore, that the story of king's daughter being married to the Rājā of Jhūsi is correct in all its aspects. It appears that this incident might have taken place in the closing years of 10th century. And the accession of Soma Chand, thus, possibly followed after a few years. Roughly, it can be assigned to cir. 1000 A. D.[193] Like Atkinson, the present author discards the theory of Khasiya interruption before the accession of the first Chand ruler in Kumaon. It appears that despite all the worst political conditions, the throne of the main line of Katyūri dynasty was immediately occupied by the Chands.

Soma Chand

When Soma Chand reached Kumaon he built the first home of the fifteen-acre plot received by him from his father-in-law and called

193. Atkinson quoted the statement of the Kumaoni stetesman Harṣa Deva Joshi, who put the accession of Thobar Chand in 1261 A. D. and attributed him as the first ruler of Chand dynasty. Atkinson on the basis of it contends that the contemporary inscriptiption in Garhwal belonging to Dūlu Rājā Krāchalla shows us that some years before the accession of Thobar Chand there were Chandra Vaṁśis in Kāli Kumaon. Of the three names given in the inscription not even one agrees with any name in the lists. Therefore, Atkinson supposes that probably there were three Chand families at that time. Thus he rejects the view of some scholars and adds that Thobar Chand can hardly be taken to be the first of his dynasty in Kumaon. See, Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, p. 503.

it Rāj-būṅga, which subsequently gave place to the name Champāwat. He found the country divided into a number of small principalities under independent rulers. Soma Chand rose to the occasion and with the assistance of the Tarāgi clan, subdued the Rāwat Rājā and invited the petty chiefs and the heads of factions to attend his durbār He gave them equal importance and appointed the powerful faction leader as the head of all with a general supervision from his capital. "He revived the ancient system of headmen in each village called būrhas and sayānas, who were responsible for the police and fiscal arrangements of their respective villages or groups of villages. This was so very old an institution in these hills that the būrhas of Chaukur and Phūngur declared to Soma Chand that their office had come down to them in unbroken succession from the original Daitya rulers of Kumaon." [194] The kāmdārs or immediate courtiers of Soma Chand were the Joshis, Bishts and Pāndes of Kumaon.

Though Jāgeśwar was probably not under his sway, it seems that Soma Chand had built monuments at this place. It could have been possible only when he had no hostilities with the Katyūris of western Kumaon. The site was very much sacred and hence the building of monuments in the territory of other king might have resulted due to a friendly gesture.

Soma Chand, who had ascended the throne in cir. 1000 A. D., probably died after the rule of twenty years. He established himself powerfully. However, it appears that he could not completely subdue the whole of the Kumaon region. Even then the entire Kumaon was ruled by several petty rulers. In Garhwal, Dehradun and Tehri Garhwal, the Pālas had established themselves. In Kumaon, the western and southern parts were being occupied by the petty Katyūri houses, while the north to east region might have been under the sway of Soma Chand.

Ātma Chand and his successor

Soma Chand was succeeded by his son Ātma Chand. We do not have anything substantial to record about this king also. Tradition, however, tells us that the progress of the small state went further unabated. We are told that all the neighbouring rulers paid him an allegiance.

After Ātma Chand we simply get a bare list of rulers, whose reigns were probably most uneventful. Ātma Chand was succeeded by his son Pūrṇa Chand, of whom all that is known is that he was a great hunter and

194. *Ibid.*, p 508.

spent much of his time in the Bhābar engaged in hunting.[195] He was followed by his son. Indra Chand, who is said to have brought into Kāli Kumaon the silk worm and had thus introduced the manufacture of silk. Of the immediate successors of Indra Chand, viz. Sansār, Sudhā, Hammira or Hari and Binā, nothing is known beyond their names.

Atkinson has assigned eighty years to all these rulers. This seems to be correct, for almost all of them were incapable to retain stronghold for a long time.

Binā Chand, whose reign probably ended in the beginning of cir. 1100 A. D. was a weak-minded ruler. He allowed the affairs of the country to fall into the hands of unscrupulous servants, so that on his death "the Khasiyas lifted up their rāj in Kāli Kumaon."[196] The condition of the Chand rulers became worst. They approached the Katyūris of western Kumaon for help, but they were themselves preoccupied with their own affairs. Atkinson remarks for this Khasiya uprising: "It would appear that the Khasiya revolution was the result of a national movement not only against the foreign dynasty but generally against all intruders from plains."[197] It cannot be accepted easily since it is difficult to reconcile that a dynasty like the Chands ruling for about a hundred years could remain a foreign one. The very probable likelihood for the Khasiya uprising might have been due to the failing power of the Chands. Besides, the houses of Doṭi, Dwārahāt and others seem to have regained power during this political chaos. Since all these petty houses had a peaceful time, it is very likely that they had built the temples at Dwārahāt within this short interval.

Atkinson has given a list of about 15 names, whom he describes as the Khasiya Rājās."[198] Excepting their names and the period of their rule, we do not have anything to record about them.

The period was thus full of general discontent and political strife. Almost all the aboriginal tribes, bigger or smaller, seemed to have raised in revolt, which could not be checked due to the lack of any powerful personality.

We have a thick veil of oblivion over this period. Atkinson derived a conclusion from a small inscription at Jāgeśwar belonging to Mādhavasena,

195. In the back pages he has been associated with Firishtā's account. Nothing definite can be said about it and hence it remains tentative till further material proves it.

196. Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, p. 509.

197. *Ibid.*

198. *Ibid.*

the ruler of Bengal, that he probably visited here in the 11th century A. D. But we cannot say definitely whether he visited this place in course of his military adventure or just for the sake of a holy pilgrimage. However, the latter purpose seems to be genuine, for we do not have either any tradition or historical account in Kumaon about the invesion of a foreign ruler in the 12th century A. D.

After this event in Kumaon history, we have something to record about the later part of 12th century. There are still two tridents erected by foreign rulers at Gopeśwar and Bārhāt, which tell us the tale of a political strife and the weakness of the Kumaon and Garhwal rājās.

Aśokachalla

The trident found at Gopeśwar is significant from the fact that it gives the name of a king with his genealogy. This king, who is supposed to have conquered the Himalayan region, belongs to the Malla dynasty of Nepal. The record is dated in the year 1191 A. D. The decipherment of inscription, particularly in the case of the name of king, is doubtful. It has been variously suggested by scholars as Anckamalla, Aśokachalla,[199] Bhanekamalla[200] and Aśokamalla.[201] It appears that the correct transliteration may be Aśokachalla. Tucci also remarks in this connection that the other readings are wrong.[202] And therefore, it should be Aśokachalla only.

If such a reading is accepted, then this king can be connected with the Malla family of Nepal. Tucci has given a list of the Malla rājās,[203] in which this king stands as a seventh successor.

The trident at Bārhāt, Tehri Garhwal, is also interesting. About this trident the local tradition says that it was erected by some Tibetan Rājā, to whom this part of the country was formerly subjected. Though we do not know anything more about this Tibetan Rājā, the above account is correct. This is proved by the Tibetan inscription on the trident. On this very trident Rājā Aśokachalla got his inscription engraved in the subsequent centuries.

This Rājā Aśokachalla in his Gopeśwar inscription claims to have "subdued Kedāra bhūmi."[204] In the Bārhāt inscription he has been praised very much for his pious and heroic actions.

199. Bhagwan Lal Indraji' "An inscription at Gayā". *I. A.*, p. 345.
200. Atkinson, E. T., *op cit.*, p. 512, f. n. 2.
201. Kielhorn, F., "Inscriptions of Northern India", *E. I.*, Vol. V. p. 79
202. Tucci, Giuseppe, *Preliminary Report on two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal*, Roma—1956, p. 67.
203. *Ibid.*
204. Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, p. 512.

It appears that Aśokachalla conquered the entire tract of Garhwal, leaving the region of present Almora and Nainital Districts under the rule of some one else. As noted briefly, the present period of Kumaon history is thickly wrapped up in confusion. Hence, it is difficult to say as to who could have occupied this region at the time of Aśokachalla's conquest.

The sway of the Mallas here could have been only of a short duration, "for with the exception of an old chabūtara, or masonry platform which formed their customs post at Joshimaṭh and is still known as the Rainkā chabūtara, they have left neither trace nor tradition behind." [205]

Krāchalla Deva 1145 Saka (1223 A. D.)

Exactly thirty-two years after the reign of Aśokachalla, the emergence of Krāchalla Deva takes place in the history of Kumaon. On the reverse of the copper plate grant of Deśaṭadeva, we have the evidence of a deed executed by Krāchalla Deva, "who is described as conqueror of the Vijaya rājya, the destroyer of the demolished city of Kāntipura and a devout Buddhist." [206] From the Nepalese annals we know that he came from this country.

Tucci conjectured that the king Krāchalla Deva Jina of Kāntipura is most probably the Krāchalla of the Malla dynasty. [207] The conclusion derived on the basis of similarity of names cannot be accepted. Though the name Krāchalla comes sixth in order of succession in the 'Malla list, the other king Aśokachalla, who is already referred to and who succeeds Krāchalla, is said to have conquered Kumaon in as late as 1191 A. D. The date goes against the entire hypothesis. And, therefore, the view that Krāchalla-deva of the Bāleśvar inscription is Krāchalla of the Malla dynasty is less convicing.

From the Nepalese annals again, we know that when the Vais (or Vaiśya) Thākur Rājās began to reign, there were Rājās in every quarter of the town Lalitapāṭan, "in Kāntipura (Kāthmāṇḍu), there were twelve Rājās who were called Jhininmaṭha Kula." [208] Further, it was said that these Ṭhākuras built numerous Buddhist temples and donated lands for their maintenance. The Bāleśvar inscription also indicates that Krāchalla Deva was a devout

205. The term 'Raika' or 'Raika' was an old title in the Malla family. Atkinson, E. T., *op. cit.*, p. 51f.

206. *Ibid.*

207. Tucci, G., *op. cit.*, p. 67.

208. *Ibid.*, p. 516.

Buddhist. It, therefore, appears that this king also belonged to one of these families of the Rājpūts of Nepal and his place was somewhere in Dūlu, in the Western Nepal.

Though he was a Buddhist, he did not indulge in religious fanaticism and thus donated liberal grants to Bāleśvar Mahādeva and the Brāhmaṇas.

Apart from the occupation of Garhwal and other adjacent regions, Krāchalla Deva advanced upto the Katyūr valley of Kumaon. In an inscription he claims to have won Kartṛipura. The place seems to have been under the rule of some late Katyūri ruler of western Kumaon, who was not probably very strong to resist. In such an opportune moment Krāchalla Deva would have inflicted defeat on him and probably conquered the Kārttikēyapura kingdom very easily. However, more material is awaited in support of this.

Restoration of the Chand dynasty

At the outbreak of revolution, the surviving members of the Chand dynasty retired to the Mal or Malas as the present Tarāi was then known. The first person to raise arms against the ruling Khasa chiefs and other Maṇḍalikas was Bira Chand People joined hands with him and attacked Kāli Kumaon. They were totally successful in their venture, and thus Bira Chand was the first ruler to establish himself at Champāwat.

We are in a good position to reconstruct the earlier history of the later Chand dynasty. "For, however poor the available information may be, it leads us back from Rudra Chand (A. D. 1562-1592) whom Atkinson had regarded as the earliest chronologically ascertained ruler, to Nara Chand A. D. 1285 (?) or 1297-1321 " [209]

Nara Chand

For the rule of Nara Chand a period of about eighteen years has been assigned. In his inscription, however, the period is extended to 24, if not 36 years. Goetz took him as the actual builder of the later 'Chand Rāj.' This assumption cannot be accepted as the restoration of Chand dynasty had taken place under Bira Chand and not under Nara Chand. It can be, however, postulated that Nara Chand tried to establish permanently the lost might of his dynasty which he gained from Bira Chand. Bira Chand himself could have restored the lost power only after the invasion of Krāchalla Deva in 1223 A. D Goetz's

209. Goetz, H., *op. cit.*, p. 44.

assumption, therefore, of the date of Bira Chand (A. D. 1209-1224) does not appear to be correct.

After this line of rulers, a crucial point in Chand's history arises without any solution so far. Tradition tells us that Garura Gyan Chand as well as his uncle Thohar Chand had come from Jhūsi. The political conditions during this period were not in any way better. "In the beginning of 14th century Allāuddin's oppression and conquest, and the repeated revolts in Katehir, east of the Ganges, drove many Brāhmins and Rājputs into the hills, and so it is probable that Thohar Chand may have also sought refuge in the Champāwat Rāj, which since Bira Chand had been a clan relationship with Jhūsi. As he has been included in the Vaṁśāvalī, it is possible that he married into the Chand family and acquired great influence." [210] This statement of Goetz that Thohar Chand established a new line of rulers in Champāwat is correct. Atkinson also states at one place in his book that a Kumaoni statesman Harṣa Deva Joshi gave the history of Chand dynasty beginning from Thohar Chand, omitting the early part of it. It seems that the above statesman was only aware of the second tradition, which related the coming of Thohar Chand to Kumaon.

Garura Gyān Chand[211]

The account about Thohar Chand and his successor is not available to us. But the seventh king[212] Garura Gyān Chand ascended the throne of Kumaon with repute and significance. He seems to have enjoyed great influence and his Rāigaon pillar inscription of A. D. 1367 or 1371 speaks for his power. It is not knwon when Garura Gyān Chand occupied the throne of Kumaon. Atkinson believes it to be in 1374 A. D., but the date 1365 A. D., seems to be more appropriate.

About Garura Gyān Chand we know that he tried to regain Katehir (Rohilkhand), which once formed part of the Chand's territory. It seems,

210. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

211. It was stated that when he was in Delhi to request the king for the grant of the tract of Katehir (Rohilkhand), he was received with much honour and being permitted to accompany the Emperor for hunting was one day fortunate enough to shoot a large bird, which he saw flying away. The bird proved to be a vulture, the garuḍa. The Emperor was pleased enough with the skill of the Rāja. Hence he not only granted him his request, but directed him henceforth to assume the name Garura Gyan Chand : See Atkinson, E.T., *op.cit.*, p. 521.

212. Some writers take him as an immediate successor, while the others as the seventh. It seems that the latter view is correct. Almost all the successors were probably feeble and incapable and hence Garura Gyān Chand could have captured the throne easily after a few years of Thohar Chand's death.

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however, that he stretched out his hand for the governorship into an independent kingdom.

Garura Gyān Chand's inscription of 1390 A. D. mentions the erection of a temple at Champāwat, which will be discussed subsequently.

The kingdom of Garura Gyān Chand finally disintegrated after his death. His last inscription belongs to 1419 A. D. and after his death Kumaon was divided between brothers and nephews of the Chand dynasty.

Udyān Chand

Garura Gyān Chand's son Harihar Chand could not retain the throne for a long time. His son Udyān Chand ascended the throne probably in c. 1430 A. D. We do not know anything significant about this king also. But it is said that he repaired the famous temple of Baliśvar at Champāwat.

After this king we have a list of several Chand rulers. None of them seems to have attained anything remarkable. Whatever might have been the situation, it is beyond the scope of our studies. But it should be indicated here that the glorious period of 'Champāwat rāj' ended only with the death of Garura Gyān Chand.

The Garhwal Rājās

We have briefly pointed out earlier that the accession of Ajaipāl to the throne of Garhwal took place in the 14th century A. D.

The Rājā, who had his original seat at Chaund village, in Chāndpur subdued petty chiefs of the neighbouring territory. Having conquered these tracts, Ajaipāl went with a larger number of followers to Śrīnagar in Garhwal. The memoirs tell us that he settled there on 25th Gatē, Kārttika, Saṁvat 1415 (1358 A. D.). [213] As has been said, Mānodaya Kāvya written by Jyotir Rāi supplies us the names of the kings of Garhwal. Here in this case also we get the names of Ajaipāl's son and grandson as Sahāyapāl and Mānsāh.

Ajaipāl

In the Mānodaya Kāvya, Ajaipāl is compared with Yudhiṣṭhira, "who descended from the lunar lineage, whose very thought trembled the heart of the king." [214]

213. Gairola, T. D., *op. cit.*, p. 74.

214. Sankrityayan, Rahul, *op. cit.*, I, p. 128

He is said to have unified the entire tract of Garhwāl and was probably the first ruler to call it as Garhwal[215] instead of Kedārkhaṇḍa. When he shifted his capital from Chāndpurgarh to Dewalgarh (Śrīnagar), his position was not very strong and to attain it he had to fight with the neighbouring powerful rājās. Finally he shifted his capital to Śrīnagar proper where he could rule in peace and tranquility.

Sahāyapāl or Sahajapāl

He probably ascended the throne in cir. 1400 A. D. About him also Mānodaya Kāvya tells us that he was a very able statesman. He completed the work of further unification of Garhwal, which his father had begun long before.

Mān Sāh

Mān Sāh or Mān Shāh ascended the throne probably in 1460 A. D. About him also we get some information in *Mānodaya Kāvya,* which tells us that he invaded the king of Champāwat in Kumaon. The king of Champāwat seems to have suffered a heavy loss at the hands of Mān Sāh's general Nandi. We cannot comment on the authenticity of this statement as we have no corroborative evidence. Nevertheless, it is more than certain that under his reign the region of Garhwal reached the climax of its success. It may also be added that only under Mān Sāh the whole of Garhwal and also some parts of the Dūn became a formidable empire under one ruler.

After Mān Sāh, several rulers ascended the throne of Garhwal till the British regime bifurcated the region into two parts, namely, Garhwal and Tehri Garhwal. The capital was shifted from Śrīnagar to Tehri-Garhwal and this dynasty at Tehri ruled till the time all the states were merged up in the Indian Union.

Conclusion

To sum up, it may be said that the history of Kumaon region remains more conjectural than factual for want of an authentic data.

The Katyūris, who were the first historical rulers of Kumaon, contributed a lot to the culture of Kumaon. The art and architecture were enriched and many new monuments came up during their regime. As stated already, they were the Śaivas and they helped Śaṅkara in the establishment of Śaivism in Kumaon.

215. There were several independent houses known as Chāndapurgarh, Dewalgarh, etc., throughout the region of Garhwal. Therefore it was named as Garhwal signifying a place with many forts (Garhwal).

Under this dynasty, the entire tract of Kumaon including some portion of Rohilkhand witnessed prosperous times.

These rulers, though originating locally, were broad-minded and were therefore, conscious enough to keep harmonious political relationship with some of the powerful rulers of the Indian plains. For instance, the Pālas of Bengal had greatly influenced the life and culture of the Katyūri kings of Kumaon. In the field of art and architecture, we see several features directly borrowed from outside.

The Chands who are supposed to have migrated from Jhūsi, succeeded the Katyūris. The records of their rule are not as numerous as we have of the Katyūris. But the annals and memoirs of contemporary period help us to build up their historical account.

The early Chand rulers had to fight continuous warfares. They were, however, successful in establishing their position in Kumaon. Excepting a few early rulers none was powerful. In the middle of the rule of this dynasty, Kumaon region seems to have been divided into many parts. The kings of Garhwal had declared complete independence, with the result that there were several geographical units.

The Chand rulers also contributed to the art and architecture of Kumaon in a wonderful manner. As will be seen later, a new style of art was initiated with the help of foreign masons. Though they have comparatively a small list of monuments, their outstanding grandeur still reveals the aesthetic sense of the Chands.

In the end, we can say that the region of Kumaon passed through various stages from the beginning of the Christian era to the end of 15th century A. D. And this very characteristic of its history accounts for many lacunas here and there.

CHAPTER III

ARCHITECTURE

Though the beginning of stone temples in Kumaon takes place in the early mediaeval period of Indian history, we can, nevertheless, take into account some of the early remains of this region and thus build up a chronological sequence of the same. The ancient remains of Kumaon may therefore be grouped in the following categories:

I. Protohistoric

II. Early historic

III. Early mediaeval and

IV. Mediaeval.

I. *Protohistoric*

As far back as 1858 an interesting notice of the cairns or 'Rock Basons' was made by W. J. Henwood at Devi-Dhoora in Almora District. The place is about 18 miles south-east of Almora town. About a furlong further south-east of the Devi-Dhoora temple, there are "large granitic rocks affording tolerably level surface of several feet square, respectively about 4 ft., 2½ ft. and 1 foot above the ground. Each of these rocks exhibits a group of five basons. They are generally about 6 or 8 inches in diameter, and perhaps a foot in depth."[2] There are some other remains at this place and on the same surface as in the case of the above, "four other similar large stones, which equally bear traces of having been purposely upset down wild-picturesque granite cairns in the neighbourhood."[3]

Near the small south-eastern shrine, there are two small cromlechs or dolemns; "the larger is an oblong square, about 5 ft. in length and 2½ ft. in width and is supported at a height of rather less than 3 ft. horizontally on six stones, the smaller is triangular, and is perhaps 2½ feet wide."[4]

1. Henwood, W. J., "Notice of the Rock-Basons at Deo (Devi) Dhoora near Almora in Upper India", *E. N. P. J., N. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 204-206

2. Ibid, p. 204.

3. *Ibid*.

4. *Ibid*., p. 205.

N. B. The present author was not able to examine these basons personally because of the lack of facilities.

Apart from it, near Devi Dhoora, there is a grassy land where there are two big cromlechs of considerable size.

Near Devi Dhoora, there are two masses of granite of more than fifty ft. square cairn. A flight of some twenty or more steps has been laid to reach the doorway to a small natural cave within the cairn.

These monuments of megalithic type are interesting, for they reveal totally a new and unique culture in this hilly region. On the basis of past evidence scholars have presumed that almost the entire northern part of India bears traces of megalithic mounments, though they have not been 'recently seen.'[5]

Wheeler has stated in his book about all these existing monuments of the north. And it is curious enough to know that their existence is noticed "in the hilly district of Delhi, Mirzapur and Orissa......Jaipur in Rajasthan,.........Almora, and in the remoter depths of the Himalayan massif in the Leh valley of Ladakh, near the western border of Tibet."[6]

It is difficult to comment on the existence of these megaliths in Kumaon at present. The hundred years old evidence cannot be easily accepted unless the site is extensively re-examined. And therefore, whatever is stated above represents the observation of Henwood.

II. *Early historic*

In the early historic period we have to take into account the aśvamedha site at Jagatgrām, District Dehra Dun. The site is cultivated and disturbed. The Exploration Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India conducted an excavation and exposed remains of three sites, where king Śilavarman is stated to have performed the aśvamedha sacrifices, at least four times.[7]

As the major portion of the site is disturbed, a little part of the chayana sacrificial structure remains in the shape of bricks of recognisable measurements.[8] They are well designed in the orientation of chayana, hawk or eagle, with spread wings.

The second site brought out a number of inscribed bricks.

The third site yielded the relics of another horse-sacrifice in the shape of bricks.

5. Wheeler, Mortimer, *Early India and Pakistan to Ashoka*, London, 1959, p. 159.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 160

For detailed study about Leh, see Francke, *op. cit.*. pp. 68-74 (referred to in Chapter II).

7. *I. A. R.*, 1953-54, pp. 10-11,
8. *Ibid.*

The site under study is of unique importance as it is the first ancient aśvamedha site in India known to archaeology.

The remnants of chayana sacrifice discovered in the excavation are interesting, for the sacrifice has a far reaching antiquity to the Vedic and Purāṇic literature. In the literary texts we get description of the aśvamedha sacrifice, the rule of its performance, the apparatus it required and the purification by sacrifice.[9]

The chayana

As the chayana altar forms an important part of the aśvamedha site at Jagatgrām, it is worthwhile to say a few words about it.

Chayana means piling of bricks, which have special shape and form. "Numerous shapes and forms are stated in the Vedas, such as Śyenchiti, Kaṅkachiti, alayachiti, praugachiti, rathachakrachiti,"[10] etc. Important of all these is the Garuḍa chayana. This chayana or altar is erected with 1000 bricks in a set order which exactly resembles a Garuḍa (the vulture) lying with its head down and wings stretched out just as it may appear in the sky.

It has been already noted that the bricks at Jagatgrām were aligned in the shape of a hawk or eagle. The significance of it is therefore unquestionable.

For building an eagle-shaped altar, it may be added here that the bricks are arranged in the triangular oblong and square plans. Then a "mantra precedes the placing of every brick and the bricks should not be placed at random or as regular house builders would have it……They should never be placed one over the other……and a sound knowledge of geometry and mason-craft is required in constructing the altar. The bricks have different names to distinguish them." [11] The various kinds of bricks are placed in various direction. Each layer consists of two hundred bricks. [12]

The palæographical considerations assign the inscribed bricks to about the 3rd-4th century A.D. Ramchandran attributed the site to the Yaudheya dynasty, to which—according to him—the king Śilavarman might have belonged.[13]

Another hypothesis has been forwarded elsewhere that the king Śilavarman probably belonged to the Singhpura dynasty mentioned in the Lākhāmaṇḍal Praśasti. [14]

9. See Satapatha Br. X, 21, 1-11 in *S. B. E.*, Vol. XLI and XLIII, pp. 299-304.
10. Dikshitar, T. A. V., "The Vedic Sacrifices and Temple worship," *B. V.*, Vol. V, p. 66.
11. Ramchandran, T. N., "Aśvamedha site near Kālsī", *J. O. R.*, Vol XXI, Pts. I-IV, p. 21.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*, p. 24
14. For detailed description see chapter on History.

III. *Early Mediaeval monuments* (c. 700–1000 A. D.)

After the early historical period, there is a wide gap in the architectural history of Kumaon. It is only with the emergence of Katyūris and the Chands that the region witnessed a prolific production of art and architecure. There is, however, one difficulty that the extant archaeological remains of Kumaon cannot be strictly ascribed to any one of these two dynasties, because we do not have either history or epigraphical evidence pertaining to the subject. Therefore, the stylistic considerations remain only as the basis of our study.

These remains consist mainly of temples. The earliest among them seems to be the Jāgeśwar group of temples. The place is about (Fig. 1) 23 miles north-east of the Almora town. Here the cluster of about 150 temples—big and small—display at least three phases of architectural activities. The division of these phases is mainly based on stylistic consideration. And therefore, in order to know the entire art history of Kumaon, we may study the monuments phase-wise along with their architectural peculiarities.

Type I

Phase I

The first and earliest phase in the monuments of Jāgeśwar is noticed in the three vimānas[15] of Jāgeśwar, the Mrityuñjaya and the Daṇḍeśvar. Almost all the three shrines carry an outstanding similarity, though there are slight variations on plan, elevation and general orientation.

These imposing śikhara shrines are the earliest specimen of art in the entire Kumaon region.

Garbha-griha (or Sanctum)

They follow the square plan, except for the Jāgeśwar temple, which is pañcharatha on plan.[16] The dimension of the garbha-griha varies in each case. Thus it is $17\frac{1}{2}'$ square in the Mrityuñjaya, while about 20′ square in the Jāgeśwar and almost the same in the Daṇḍeśvar.

15. It would not be inappropriate to call them as Vimānas. There is not any local name for them. The definition, therefore, fits into it: "Throughout the greater part of the country the sanctury as a whole is known as the vimāna of which the upper pyramidal or tapering portion is called the śikhara meaning a tower or spire." See Brown, Percy, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu), Vol. I, P. 72, 1942.

16. See figures 1–3.

The garbha-griha walls are plain and are devoid of any image. However, there are śaktis with liṅga in all the temples as is usual with a Śiva temple. In the Mṛityuñjaya shrine, the sanctum is dark, having no opening whatsoever, while the back wall of the Jāgeśwar and the Daṇḍeśvar shrine consist of two latticed windows of the chess-board pattern for the admittance of light into the sanctum. Another variation noticed in the Jāgeśwar shrine is that the garbha-griha is on a lower level and to enter it one has to descend a flight of steps. The doorways of the sanctum are profusely carved with floral designs and more so the lintel of the sanctum of Jāgeśwar shrine also, which is nicely embellished with a frieze of five sculptured śikharas.

Maṇḍapa

All the shrines have square maṇḍapas. All of them vary in dimension. Thus the maṇḍapa in Mṛityuñjaya shrine is 26′–5″ square, while in the Jāgeśwar it is slightly bigger by two feet.[17] Unlike the maṇḍapa of the Jāgeśwar shrine, the Mṛityuñjaya shrine has simplicity. The walls are quite plain and there is a row of two pillars and a pilaster on each side. Similar to the lower position of the sanctum of Jāgeśwar shrine, the maṇḍapa in the Mrityuñjaya shrine has a raised elevation, thus having a flight of steps to reach it from the portico. The Jāgeśwar shrine has, however, one interesting feature. In it we see a row of two pillars and a pilaster on each side dividing the maṇḍapa into a nave and tow aisles. The aisles are a little bit below the level of the nave's flooring. They do not continue throughout the maṇḍapa hall and are closed with the wall of the sanctum. Besides the nave and aisles, the maṇḍapa has one more door from the southern side.

Pillars

The pillars are quite massive, squarish and with projection at interval. They are made of huge square blocks mortared one over the other. All the sides are decorated with delicate flowery patterns, pot and foliage motifs and Kirttimukha symbols. The bracket capital is also very huge and supports the architecture, on which finally the roof is resting. The base of the pillars in the Jāgeśwar shrine exhibits small arched niches on all the four sides, instead of the vase and flower motif.

17. The Daṇḍeśvar temple has a striking resemblance to the Mrityuñjaya. A few variations will, however, be pointed out here and there.

Roof

Huge slanting slabs cover the roof. The later Gupta practice has been fully followed in it. And to be more precise, we can point out the present similarity with the Durgā and other temples at Aihole and temple No. XIII[18] at Sāñchī. In the Jāgeśwar shrine, however, the roof of the nave is raised higher than that of the aisles.

Ardhamaṇḍapa

The Mrityuñjaya shrine has a rectangular portico of about 8' × 5' dimension. Two pillars comparatively small, but exactly after those of the maṇḍapa, are placed in it. The position of the Jāgeśwar shrine is quite different. In it we do not see the original ardhamaṇḍapa. It seems to have been lost long back and what is seen today of 20' × 20' dimension is a later addition. It is entirely covered, but the four walls have almost gone. However, a few stones even now indicate that it was once a well covered structure. The modern roof of tiles is supported by wooden pillars of a very recent time. The entire ardhamaṇḍapa is clustered with small and big shrines without a least consideration for situation, plan or space at all.

General characteristics of the temples

All the three shrines rise to an elevation of about fifty feet each. The adhiṣṭhāna (basement) moulding is decorated with lotus petals. The Jaṅghā or the wall portion begins with flower and vase motif. The top panel of the niche contains the portrayal of Śiva's Trimūrti. Finally there is a Kirttimukha symbol. The niches on the Mrityuñjaya shrine are exhibited slightly in a different way. They represent a definite Pratihāra element by the elongated udgamas on niches, which are widely found in all the central Indian temples and on a few Rajasthani, like those at Osia, Mandor and Gwalior. Stella Kramrisch speaks for such arrangement as......"replicas in relief of various kind of superstructure of the temple"[19]......The portion below the sikhara is divided into three segments (trayaṅga-bāda). The sikhara is curvilinear with broad offsets and is like the Nāgara temples of India. It begins curving inside from its bottom and is square throughout its cross section with a clear maintenance of sharp edges at the corners. The terminating point or apex ends in a comparatively small square and is covered by a plain āmalaka.

18. Saraswati, S. K., 'Art,' *The Classical Age*, Vol. III, p. 498, Pl. X, Fig. 20

19. Kramrisch, Stella, *The Hindu Temple*, Vol. II, p. 318, f. n. 50.

Finally on the top of each temple, there is a superimposed parasol resting on a wooden farme work and covered......by very thin slaty slabs. The parasol over the Mṛityuñjaya shrine differs from that of the Jāgeśwar shrine. In the former it is held aloft by a square farme of wooden sticks, while that in the latter it closely covers the pinnacle. In the Daṇḍeśvar shrine, however, we see two parasols—one covering the udgama (pediment) and the other the pinnacle of the śikhara. The use of such a contrivance in almost all the temples in the hilly regions is probably a "necessary feature, being eminently suitable for draining off the snow"[20]

Apart from several decorative details, such as the floral designs, the Kīrttimukha symbol and the flying gandharvas—all carved on the temples—we see lion seated on the corbel just above the roof of the maṇḍapa.

Cult images

It is difficult to determine the nature of the cult images. Stray icons are absent from these shrines. But Śiva's trimūrti[21] occurs quite frequently. In the Jāgeśwar temple, however, we see two life size statues of Bhairavas. They are Baṭuka-Bhairavas and will be described in greater details subsequently. From their appearance it appears that they were probably a later addition to the temple.

Though the temples lack any specific cult icon, the liṅgas in the temples may be taken as representing this character. Besides, the names Mṛityuñjaya, Jāgeśwar (or Yogeśvara) and Daṇḍeśvar signify various aspects of Lord Śiva.

Date and parallels outside

We cannot assign the temples to any definite date. Though there are a few inscriptions of about the 9th-10th centuries, none of them has its bearing on the temples. But it cannot be accepted what Hargreaves has contented that "the inscriptions testify to the presence of shrines here in the 8th century and these were in all probability, not the first erected at the spot."[22] Thus according to his observation they (the shrines at Jāgeśwar) all belong to a period after the visit of Śaṅkarāchārya or, more precisely, after the 9th century A. D. Nevertheless, on stylistic considerations, it can be stated that these three

20. Saraswati, S. K., *The Strugle for Empire*, Vol. V p. 606.

21. This will be dealt with in the Chapter on Iconography.

22. Vats, M. S., A. S. I., A. R., 1928–29, p. 15.

shrines of Jāgeśwar belong to about the 7th-8th century A. D.[23] Goetz has assumed even an earlier date and he says that these shrines are the oldest among all. He further remarks that "they belong to the late Gupta period, low and broad with slanting slab roof, columns with lotus-half roundels combined with the pot and foliage capitals and comparatively simple plinth mouldings."[24] Though Goetz's view seems reasonable, there are yet a few difficulties in accepting it. Firstly, no dynasty in Kumaon is known which might have flourished during the 6th-7th century A. D. The emergence of the Katyūris, the first historical dynasty of Kumaon, had only taken place in the last quarter of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century. And if these shrines are taken to be erected by the earlier Katyūri prince, as Goetz assumed, it will go against the view that the temples are exactly contemporary with the late Gupta period. Secondly, all these shrines bear striking resemblance to the Paraśurāmeśvar shrine at Bhubaneśvara[25] and the Durgā and Hucchimaligudi temples at Aihole.[26] Though they are far from Kumaon, the architectural resemblance, particularly in respect of the latticed windows, the interior arrangement of naive and aisles, the pattern of roof and śikhara testify that they all belong to one period. And as the shrines from Bhubaneśvara and Aihole belong to about the 7th or 8th century A. D., it would be quite appropriate to place the temples at Jāgeśwar also as the production of about the close of 8th century A. D.

Type II

Phase II (a) The Navadurgā,[27] Lakuliśa and Naṭarāja shrines at Jāgeśwar

This group of temples belongs to a slightly later period. These shrines, though comparatively small in elevation, are the best preserved among all the extant temples at Jāgeśwar. Almost all of them present a new style, as far as the temple architecture of Kumaon in concerned. Hence, it is essential to discuss them in details.

23 The temples at Jāgeśwar are more or less contemporaneous with those at Osia (Rajasthan). The temples at Osia exhibit sharply the elements of Pratihāra art. After the post-Gupta period the elements of this regional school manifestly influenced several north Indian temples including those at Jāgeśwar and other latter monuments of Kumaon.

24. Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 38. (referred to in Chapter II)

25. Saraswati, *op cit.*, Pl. II, Fig. 3 and Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

26. Cousens, H., *Chalukyan Architecture*, Pl. XII. See 23 f. n. also.

27. See Fig. 4.

The Navadurgā shrine at Jāgeśwar

The shrine (Fig 2) nicely preserved faces to the north . It has a rectangular sanctum (15' x 10') and an elevation of about 30 feet. There are two plinth mouldings of great simplicity. The floor of the shrine is placed at a higher level, though we do not see any sign of the jagati (terrace)· There are two square pillars including two side pilasters resting the roof of the temple. Besides, each side of the wall has an embedded pilaster. The architrave has been utilized to hold the śikhara. The śikhara is divided into three recessed compartments. Each of them is protected by a plain moulding. These compartments display beautifully the architectural beam-heads in all the four sides of the temple. There is yet one more intermediary recess below the pinnacle. And finally there is the "ogival wagon shaped roof placed transversally to the entrance."[28] Owing to the oblong plan being maintained throughout; the upper part remains unaltered. The vaulted roof is crowned by a small āmalaka in the middle and two figures of squatted lions in two corners facing opposite directions. In two sides of the temple, i. e. left and right are seen two gables with upper circular panels. They are highly obliterated and were restored few years back, but their carvings are lost.

The type seems to be alien to the region of Kumaon and its proto-types are seen elsewhere in India. But a few similar instances of significant nature are available even from the other parts of Kumaon. Two similar type of temples are at Joshimath. Both of them, though dilapidated, resemble the Navadurgā temple. One of them is known as the Vasudeva shrine,[29] while the other nameless, comparatively small, stands behind this. The Vasudeva shrine has been probably reshaped and therefore, its śikhara presents a hybrid jumbled from. One striking element which is still preserved is that the architectural beam-heads are recessed in compartment, just above the lintel. But more interesting than the Vasudeva shrine is the small temple, which has preserved its style, shape and plan even now. Though lacking in some of the architectural decorations, such as the lithic beam-heads motif, etc., it closely resembles the Navadurgā shrine in its each and every detail.

The significance of the type; its parallels and date.

This type is really significant, since it carries a different conception from other monuments of Kumaon. This concept has a long background in the art

28. Goetz, H., *op. cit.*, p. 38.

29. See Fig. 5.

history of India. The origin of this type, as suggested by Percy Brown, goes back to the Buddhist[30] Chaitya halls or temples. The first brick building, fully carrying the feature of "Keel" roof is the Bhitargaon temple (in Kanpur District). Built during the fifth century A. D., its tower demonstrably works as a precursor of the wagon vaulted roof found in several parts of India. After the Bhitargaon temple the style appears to have been adopted at Nalanda[31] and in the later centuries it also became a well established architectural mode in Orissa.

The analogous temples are the Rathas at Mahabalipuram, the Vaital Deul at Bhubaneśvar, the Teli kā mandir at Gwalior and the Temple No. 3 in Osia[33] at Jodhpur. Almost all of them have remained a subject of great interest to scholars. Though they have striking resemblance to each other, there are some variations also. For instance, almost all the shrines from Kumaon consist of āmalakas and squatted lions—a feature which is not seen elsewhere. Although there are "finials on the roof" [34] of Vaital Deul also, they cannot be taken as akin to the āmalaka feature of the temples of Kumaon.

As noted, the temples are in rectangular plan. This type of plan, according to Stella Kramrisch,[35] "is an application of the square for definite purposes, when for instance, more than one image is the cult object," such as the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu and the seven mothers. Though such instances from Kumaon are lacking, Sankalia[36] has given an example of this type from Gujarat. This is noticed in the Daśāvatāra temple at Kadavar. The temple as well as the Prabhāvali of the Varāha image are carved with ten incarnations of Viṣṇu With such evidence in hand, we may acept the view of Kramrisch without any further consideration.

The date of these shrines also cannot be easily determined. Goetz has assigned them to the period after the Guptas and before the Pratihāras

30. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
31. *Ibid*, p. 43, (new edition)
32. *Ibid*, Pl. LXXXLV Fig. 1; and CXVI, Fig. 11.
33. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 578.
34. Panigrahi, K. C., *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneśvar*, 1961, p. 50.
35. Kramrisch, S., *op. cit.*, p. 150.
36. Śankalia, H. D., *The Archaeology of Gujarat*—1941, p. 63, Pl. XI, Fig. X.

[Even the temples from Kumaon might have once enshrined the images more than one. Though we do not have anything direct to prove it, it appears that the images of Saptamātrikās at Joshimaṭh might have been once placed in the small temple. At Jāgeśvar however, all the sculptures, are stored in one room and so it is difficult to presume anything about this place.]

and Rāshṭrakūṭas. After furnishing details of temple architecture and comparing their features with the 'Pre-Pratihāra tradition', he says that "they were contemporary with an age in which the struggle between those three great powers of early Mediaeval India had been in full swing."[37] Goetz's assumptions are weak so much so that he himself is not very firm about that. He has made the whole issue a most complicated subject. He places the accession of Soma Chand, the first Chand ruler of Kumaon, in 850 A. D. and attributes these shrines to him. This date to the Chands is too early. Their chronology has been fixed elsewhere in the light of new considerations and so the view of Goetz cannot be accepted. Though the style has essentially borrowed some alien elements, it cannot be said that it does not contain anything resembling the earlier shrines. The floral and vase motif used in the Jāgeśwar and Mṛityuñjaya shrines has a clear copy in the Navadurgā temple. The pillars also resemble closely and so is the new feature of squatted lions. It, therefore, appears that the Navadurgā shrine at Jāgeśwar and the Vasudeva and small shrine at Joshīmaṭh were built a few years after the first set was completed. More precisely, they may be attributed to have been built in about 810 A. D.

The existence of this type of temples in Joshīmaṭh also proves that they were built by the Katyūris and not by the Chands as suggested by Goetz. The hegemony of the former over this territory is undisputed, while there is nothing to claim about the latter. Since the Katyūris had their sway over the entire Kumaon and Garhwal region, it is very natural that they had adopted a similar architectural style at both the places.

Type II

Phase II (b) : The Lakulīśa and Naṭarāja shrines at Jāgeśwar and their prototypes in Bhetā near Gupta Kāshī in District Garhwal (Jigs 4 and 5)

This group of temples, though bearing diverse features, may be put under the second phase of construction at Jāgeśwar. It consists of the Lakulīśa and the Naṭarāja shrines at Jāgeśwar,[38] while there are two nameless temples standing in the Main Bazar at Bhetā near Gupta Kāshī. Though comparatively small than the other śikhara shrines of Kumaon, almost all of them present a fine addition to the art of Kumaon.

37. The incident is referred to the tripartite struggle between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Pratihāras and Pālas. See Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

38. See Fig. 4.

These shrines exhibit a remarkable homogeneity in their salient features. All of them stand at an elevation of about 30 to 35 feet. The garbha-grihas range from 6 to 10 feet square inside. Each of the shrines has two simple and plain plinth mouldings. A niche crowned by grilled pattern canopy is displayed in each of the walls of the shrine. Apart from it, the facade of the temple contains a chaitya arch. This chaitya arch has its significance and its antiquity goes back to the Buddhist chaitya halls.[39] In the course of centuries it assumed a variety of froms till it was finally assimilated to the Brahmanical architecture as merely an ornamental motif. Particularly in the south Indian temples, this motif appears "as an ornamental accessory known as the Kūḍu, a kind of miniature acroterium"[40] and is frequently used to break the line of the cornice.

These Chaitya arches in Kumaon and particularly at Jāgeśwar bear splendid mythological compositions. One of them contains Śiva Naṭarāja, while the other has his Lakuliśa incarnation.

The śikhara in these temples is relatively stunted and square with stepped arrangement. Finally, the apex of the temple ending in a square is crowned by a fluted āmalaka and kalaśa.

The art of these shrines is superb even in the minutest details. The doorway jambs are profusely carved with floral designs. In the lowermost part of the jambs at Jāgeśwar, there are two female deities attended by attendants. They are highly damaged and so it is difficult to describe them in full details. But a presumption from their representation can be initiated that they are probably the figures of two river goddesses, Gāṅgā and Yamunā. Similar trait is noticed elsewhere also, particularly in the temples at Dwārahāt, though belonging to a later period. Cousens has traced the development of Gaṅgā and Yamunā representation in three stages. According to him, the figures were displayed in the earlier period on top of the jamb, while in the mediaeval period they came to be represented to the bottom of the jamb and in the still later period they completely disappeared.[41] This division of

39. The earliest is seen in the Lomas Rishi cave (cir. 250 B. C.) in Bihar, then follow several others, such as the Phājā, Kondane Pitalkhora, Pedsā, Ajantā, Nāsik and Kārlā, all in the Deccan.

40. Brown, *op. cit*, p. 27.

41. The statement of the author goes well with present arrangement in the temples at Jāgeśwar. He further says that the "image of Gaṅgā and Yamunā were favourite objects in the early temples, especially in northern India being generally placed on either side of the shrine doorway." See Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

Cousens reflects on the period of these two shrines. The other details on the jamb are equally important, for it is decorated with "plait work-bands formed of intertwined Nāgas and floral designs with the gavāksha net-work."[42] This motif is followed in all the parts of the doorway. The Lakulīśa shrine, however, contains a makara-mukha motif, instead of the gavāksha.

The shrines at Bhetā carry almost all the identical features, excepting one or two minor additions. For instance, the ornamentation of temple by small chaitya windows is entirely a new element. Then there is another dissimilarity in the temples of Jāgeśwar and Bhetā. On top of the chaitya arches at Jāgeśwar, we see squatted lions, while this is not so in the temples at Bhetā.

Cult deities

It has been noticed in the preceding pages that the chaitya arches contain figure sculptures of Śiva and his associates. This feature is only restricted to the temples at Jāgeśwar. Though there is a similar type of chaitya arch in the temples at Bhetā also, there is no sculpture at all, excepting a carved face of Śiva in the topmost round panel.

The representations of Lakulīśa and Naṭarāja in the temples at Jāgeśwar call for a special attention. The panel containing Śiva's Tāṇḍava depicts the God accompanied by music players and attendants in a most refined manner, while the other exhibits a seated figure of Lakulīśa being flanked by his four disciples from either side. Unlike the Bhetā evidence, the upper circular panel of the chaitya arch consists of the trimūrti of Śiva. The images are described in details elsewhere. But it is sufficient to note here that the panels exhibit a mangnificent carving and a splendid mythological portrayal of the Brahmanical theme.

Parallel and date

Far from Kumaon, this type has its parallels in Aihole,[43] Mahabalipuram, central India and Gujarat.[44] The chaitya arch, as an ornamental motif, was initially introduced by the Buddhists, which later on formed an integral part of every Hindu temple in the length and breadth of the country. The mode of stepped wall pattern may be very well seen in the temples of Gop and Visavada in Gujarat. In the south the temples at Aihole also bear this

42. Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

43. Cousens, *op. cit.*, Pls. XIX, XXV and XXVI.

44. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, 56–62, Pls. VI, Figs 27–28.

element. The makara-mukha motif has been noticed in the Jaina temple at Paṭṭadakal, while the true copy of the arrangement and decoration of doorways is seen in the little shrine at Aihole.[45]

These shrines belong to the same period as that of the Navadurgā at Jāgeśwar and the two temples at Joshīmaṭh. From all the above facts, it may be inferred that almost all these shrines—possessing varied alien elements—were the production of one and the same period. The Katyūri rulers—as is evident from their records—had attained glory and power by about the end of 8th or the beginning of 9th century A.D. And it appears that due to their being receptive, they would have welcomed the transmission of alien ideas in their temple architecture.

Type IV

The Pāṇḍukeśvar temples (figs. 6 and 7)

Before taking up another phase of temple construction at Jāgeśwar, it is worthwhile to write about the two temples at Pāṇḍukeśvar, for they belong to an early period on stylistic consideration. At least one of the temples, known as Yogabadrī, is a curious blending of architectural styles.

The temple rises to about forty feet. The garbha-griha has dimension roughly of about seven feet square internally, while that of the maṇḍapa is about twenty four feet square. The maṇḍapa walls consist of two sunken niches. Two massive square pillars hold the stone slabs of the roof, on top of which are two more slabs.

The exterior of the shrine is also noteworthy. There are two decorated plinth mouldings. The walls are plain with recessed slabs put one over the other. Four decorated pilasters are embedded in the four corners of the temple wall. The method of construction followed in this temple is interesting. The masonary consists of stones of large size kept in a position of weight and balance so that no mortar is needed. The roof of the maṇḍapa also exhibits hanging eaves with the upper slanting slabs. The elements characteristically go with the roof of Ladhkhan temple at Aihole.[46]

Śikhara

The adhiṣṭhāna (basement) is divided from the jaṅghā or the wall portion by a deep recess having decorative beam-heads. The śikhara is

45. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 48. fig. 18 and p. 72, Fig. 22.

46. Brown Percy, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLIV.

again exhibited with a deep and broad recess, on which are displayed four squatted lions on all the corners each facing different directions. The śikhara is totally domical and relatively broad and stumpy in shape. It has four long niches, which are crowned with Kīrttimukha motif. On top of it is a parasol with a kalaśa,

The decoration of the temple is not remarkable, except for the doorway lintel, which displays lotus flower motif.

As is seen above, the temple is uniquely distinct from the other temples of Kumaon. The reason for this individuality in features cannot be easily ascertained. The śikhara might have either been influenced by the Buddhist stūpa type because of the proximity of the place to the Tibetan region or it may have been just a reproduction of the Pāla temples of Bengal, in which case also the śikhara exhibits rounded corners making it comparatively domical.[47] The latter view is based on the evidence of the Pāla conquest of the region of Garhwal. The Pāṇḍukeśvar copper plate grants, about whom more will be said subsequently, bear testimony to the Pāla conquest. Hence the assumption about the architectural affinities of these two far of regions may be taken as of some credence.

The temple cannot be dated definitely. However, on the basis of architectural elements, it may be assigned to the beginning of 9th century A.D.

The Vasudeva temple

This shrine standing close to the Yogabadarī temple presents slightly different characteristics. With same elevation and plan, it presents diversities in its external appearance.

There are two plinth mouldings, the lower being simple, while the upper decorated with a broad running fret chiselled in stone. On four corners of the jaṅghā are displayed like the former shrine carved pilasters with broad and thick capitals. There is a recessed division between the jaṅghā and the śikhara. The śikhara is curvilinear and somewhat akin to the Nāgara type of temple. But unlike the latter, the śikhara terminates abruptly without following a tapering course. Therefore, it has also formed more or less a domical appearance like the former temple. It is covered by a parasol and kalaśa.

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47. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 608–9 PL. XXXV, figs. 72 and 73.

Though carrying marked changes, it appears to have adopted its basic development after the former shrine. It is, however, clear that the fineness in contour and shape could not be attained in this case

The art of the shrine is also not significant. It has no elaborate carving. On the doorway lintel the same decoration of flower motif is repeated here. The facade of the śikhara contains a carved face having moustaches and kuṇḍala and small curly hair. This has led some scholars, including Rahul Sankrityayan, to believe that the figure portrays elements of Greek art.[48] However, the view is unwarranted as the figure seems to be a representation of Bhairava.

The date

This temple seems to have been built sometime after the former. The style of the shrine shows some degeneration in the architectural details. Hence, it may be tentatively said that this shrine belongs to the late 9th century A. D.

Both the shrines are enshrined with bronze images of Viṣṇu bearing names of Yogabadarī and Vāsudeva respectively. The general characteristics of these bronze images depict a fine anatomy and expression,[49] which account for their being contemporary with the shrines.

Type V

Phase III at Jāgeśwar and the other temples of *Kumaon* (950 to 1300 A. D.)

Before describing the temples of the aforesaid period, it will be essential to group them according to their stylistic peculiarities.

Group A consists of the temples beloging to the third phase at Jāgeśwar and the shrine of Mrityuñjaya at Dwārahāt. The general characteristics of these shrines are that they show fine finish and remarkable attenuation at the end.

Group B represents the Maniyan group at Dwārahāt and the main shrine at Ādbadari. Though both the places are far from each other, the temples have got a striking uniformity.

Group C comprises the temples of Ratan Deo, Kacheri, Bhetā, Nālā, Kaṭārmal and the monolithic temple at Thal.

48. Sankrityayan, Rahul, *op. cit.*, p. 467 (referred to in Chapter II).

49. It was not possible for the author to examine their iconography in details as the images are always covered with clothes and very seldom exposed for open observation.

Group D has the Rākshasa Deol, the Kaṭārmal shrine, Bāgeśwar temple, Gopeśwar and Lākhāmaṇḍal shrines.

Group A consists of the third phase of temple construction at Jāgeśwar or more clearly, the Kedāreśvar group of temples and the Mrityuñjaya shrine at Dwārahāt. The general characteristics of these shrines are the attenuated śikhara having remarkable curvilinear element; a huge fluted āmalaka śilā; roof built of horizontal slabs; generally a square garbha-griha; a square maṇḍapa and a shallow-pillared portico with usually two pillars.

The type as it looks today seems to have been introduced for the first time at Jāgeśwar. Along with Kedāreśvar, there are about thirty five temples of this type. The Kedāreśvar shrine is the only best representative type. It has a square garbha-griha (8′ x 8′) internally with a shallow pillared portico raised at an elevation and being added to stairs. The śikhara attains a rapid thinness and a marked attenuation at the end. There are three decorative mouldings at the base with angular projection chiselled on the stone. The śikhara is divided at the corners into four stages of bhūmi-āmalakas. The pinnacle of the temple ends in a square and flat end and is covered by a slightly raised āmalaka-śilā with a kalaśa on top resembling it to an umbrella.

The Mrityuñjaya shrine[50] at Dwārahāt (Fig. 8) follows strictly the same art patterns, but a few variations are noteworthy. Unlike the Kedāreśvar shrine, it consists of plain mouldings and five bhūmi-āmalakas. Though the śikhara is quite curvilinear, its rise is not so attenuated as that of Kedāreśvar. Apart from it, the new element it contains is that it has three more shrines[51] added to it. However, almost all of them are completely in a dilapidated condition. They all are attached shrines containing shallow porches in the similar manner as that of the Kedāreśvar shrine. But the maṇḍapa of the main shrine is a closed chamber with a flat roof, a characteristic quite new to any of the shallow portico type temples.[51] One of the attached shrines in the left side, which is now totally dilapidated, still survives a pillared portico, suggesting that the lower part of the pillars support the characteristic seat known as that āsana or kakashāsana.

50. See Fig. 6.

51. Plinths of three more shrines were exposed in 1924-26. See *A. S. I.*, 1924-25, p. 12. (The temple might have been the pañchāyatana type. The site is in ruin and a thorough search may prove it so).

52. It is probable that this maṇḍapa was a later addition after the original one had fallen.

This trait is quite common in the temples at Osia in Rajputana[53] and some of the temples in central India[54] as well.

Group B—Slightly different from the above type is another group. The attention is particularly directed towards the Maniyan group of shrines at Dwārahāt (Fig. 9) and the main shrines at Ādbadri. The temple in the Maniyan group may be taken first as representing this category. The śikhara under this group is displayed with a little variation from the first group. There are two plinth mouldings, one being decorated, while the other simple. The jaṅghā is simple and plain and has a tryaṅga-bāḍa. The śikhara consists of only five bhūmi-āmalakas. The pinnacle is covered by a fluted āmalaka-śilā and finally topped by a kalaśa.

The plan of the temple does not change in this group also. But many of the shrines are now devoid of pillared porticos. In 1922–23 it was reported that out of the seven temples, temple "number one consists of a maṇḍapa hall with a row of three shrines at the back....The site occupied by shrines 3 to 7 of this group...reveals the interesting fact that all these shrines together constitute a single temple with a common courtyard in the centre."[55] This observation regarding the common courtyard cannot be explained, as the present condition of the site is totally different. Nevertheless, it may be tentatively said that it had probably a pañchāyatana plan.

The main temple at Ādbadari falling (Fig. 10) under this group has a remarkable resemblance to other temples of Maniyan group, but a few variations are also noteworthy. Firstly, it is erected on a jagati (terrace), which makes one to reach it by flight of steps from the ground to the ardha-maṇḍapa. Unlike the former shrines, described above, the internal arrangement of this shrine also differs. To the square garbha-griha is attached a small antarāla and is finally joined by the maṇḍapa. The maṇḍapa is covered and contains four fluted pillars supporting two twelve feet long square and massive stone beams. The left and right corners are made with slanting slabs, thus copying the method of Jāgeśwar shrine. The brackets contain caryatid in the posture of bearing heavy burdens. Though the feature is quite common in several temples of India, such as the Khajuraho group, the temples at Aihole and those at Mahābalipuram, this seems to be a totally new element in the temple of Kumaon.

53. Brown, *op. cit.*, Pl. XC-VII Fig. 1 and 2 and XCVII, Fig. 2.

54. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 578.
(The Late Pratihāra elements are quite evidently found in these temples).

55. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1922–23, pp. 14–15.

This temple, though going in a general way with the Maniyan group, borrows several features from the Vimānas at Jāgeśwar. Particularly, we note the use of slanting slab roof and the same pattern of latticed windows in this temple.

Group C—This group consists of the Ratan Deo temples, the Kacheri group and the monolithic temple at Thal (Fig. 11).

The group of Ratan Deo temples at Dwārahāt totally differs from Group B even in external appearance.

Having curvilinear element in the śikhara, it has also a tryaṇga-bāḍa like the other shrines already described. The shrines under this group look more tapering than the rest at Dwārahāt or anywhere else in Kumaon. The volume of the jaṅghā seems to be more than that of the śikhara, which looks conspicuously thin. This closely resembles the accentuated Khajurāho shrines, though lacks the repeated recess of the latter.[56]

Nothing can be stated about the pillared porticos, but a report comes to us that "the shrines in the southern side had a common portico supported on two rows of free standing pillars."[57] A large number of pillars have disappeared. A few left out reminds us about their character that they were fluted and square with decorative details.

Next to the Ratan Deo group, the Kacheri is (fig. 12) another important set of temples falling under this group. The site consists of as many as twelve shrines. Though they are relatively stunted, their stylistic similarities bring them very near to the Ratana Deo temples. About five of these shrines, standing in a row, have a common portico with a row of free standing pillars with plain shafts and bracket capitals.

This type of temples is seen elsewhere at Bhetā, Joshimaṭh, Nālā and Kaṭārmal in Kumaon, but none of them merits a description.

The monolithic temple at Thal

However, a notable piece of monolithic shrine of this type is seen at Thal, a place situated 101 miles north-east of Almora town on the bank of Rāmgaṅgā. Locally known as the Ek Hathiā Deol, the first report of its discovery came to us in 1916.[58]

56. Krishna Deva, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXI.

57. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1922-23, p. 15.

58. *A. P. R., N. C.*, 1916, p. 10.

(The author is the first to examine it and describe its details).

The shrine is resting on a rocky platform and cut on a huge quartzite rock. Two parallel cuttings three feet wide separate the shrine from the rock. The rock is about twenty feet high and still bears marks of chiselling.

The shrine is about 12 feet high with an open portico supported by two pillars. It has a small garbha-griha, which bears a liṅga of the original rock. Just below four feet from the plinth of the temple a pond is cut from the rock, which is descended by flights of steps from the temple. There is no jagati or the platform of the temple.

As already stated, it has a close resemblance to group C. But we notice one interesting feature in this temple. It is the extension of rathas on the śikhara beyond the grīvā or neck course. It is usually found in the central Indian temples and particularly in the Khajurāho group.[59] Another notable characteristic of the temple is that there is a recess between the jaṅghā and the śikhara, which is displayed nicely with beam-heads like that of the Navadurgā temple at Jāgeśwar. The roof of the maṇḍapa is domical with step pattern. This feature also resembles some of the temples at Khajurāho.[60] Above the maṇḍapa on the śikhara corbel is a squatted lion.

With all these features, the monolithic shrine at Thal has its own significance. Though contemporary with other shrines of Kumaon, it adds several new elements to it.

Group D—But the type differing in appearance and several other traits from all the above groups, though following one and the same basic principle, is noticed at a few places of Kumaon. At Dwārahāt itself, we come across among the temples of Kacheri group (Fig. 13) two shrines, which look comparatively imposing in volume than the others. Though they follow a characteristic homogeneity in plan, the external appearance changes greatly. Unlike the other tapering shrines, the śikhara as well as the jaṅghā are shown quite in proportion. Apart from other features, the mouldings and other decorative details increase in numbers. The bāḍa like the other shrine is divided into three segments. The shallow pillared portico appears in the characteristic manner of some of the shrines at Osia.[61] The side kakshāsanas support the pillars. They are plain excepting that their capitals possess brackets.

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59. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 578 and Krishna Deva, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
60. Krishna Deva, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXI.
61. Brown, *op. cit.*, Pl. XCVII, Fig. 1.

This temple type reached its further development in some of the most noted shrines of Kumaon. Particularly, the Bāgeśwar shrine, the Rākshasa Deol at Baijnāth, the main temple at Kaṭārmal, the Gopeśwar shrine and the Lākhāmaṇḍal temple of District Dehradun may be mentioned in this connection.

As already said, they are the most noted shrines of Kumaon. Hence it will be worthwhile to describe them individually.

The Rkshasa Deol[62] (Fig 14)

It is a huge structure of its own type in Baijnāth. Apart from the other usual details, the constructional peculiarities are noteworthy. With a plain moulding and tryaṅga bāḍa, it bears five bhumī-āmalakas on the face of the śikhara. The rise of the śikhara is not followed in an uniform way. After bending eminently inward towards the end, it makes comparatively a small square, which is crowned by a fluted āmalaka-śilā. Its position is quite unusual. In almost all the other shrines of Kumaon the āmalaka-śilā is displayed in the shape of an umbrella or chhatra.[63] But in this case one notices it closely placed on the top with a small and straight kalaśa over it. The roof has followed a step pattern, but it is not so conspicuous as we notice in the temples at Jāgeśwar. The roof over the maṇḍapa also rises with marked eminence.

The internal plan is also noteworthy. The garbha-griha is a sqare of ten feet which is preceded by a maṇḍapa and a portico, all being square. The portico has massive pillars without artistic decoration. The roof is flat having big lithic beams intersecting each other. On them are placed huge slabs following the pattern of slab roof. However, the roof of the pillared portico slightly attains a domical characteristic—a feature which is very distinct in some of the later shrines of Kumaon.

The temple lacks ornamentations. The portico ceiling consists of some sculptured human and animal heads inserted inside, thereby presenting them as if they are peeping through. N. N. Misra calls them as the heads of the Rākshasas (demons), who according to a legend were slain by

62. There cannot be any explanation for such name of this shrine. But, it might have been named so after Śiva; the God being known as the lord of demon or Bhūtanāth. This only looks quite tentative.

63. However, this pratice of displaying āmlaka-silā is also seen in several of the Gujarāti temples and particulary that in the Roda group. See Dhaky, M. A., "The chronology of Solanki temples of Gujarat, *M. P., Itihās Parishad*, No. 3, 1961, Pl. II.

the Katyūris, who then presented the heads of the demons to Śiva.[64] This story cannot be believed. On the other hand, it appears that the heads represented human as also animals and thus might have been displayed so for the purpose of decoration.

The Kaṭārmal shrine[65] (Fig. 15)

Standing on a lofty hill on the right bank of river Kosi and about 6 miles to the north of Almora town, the temple is still an imposing structure even after severe dilapidation. Its significance is notabla since it is the only important shrine dedicated to Sūrya in this part of the country.

The temple is locally known as 'Barā Ādit' or the great Sun God. The main temple is surrounded by a paved enclosure measuring about 160 feet by 100 feet north to south and east to west respectively. There are about fifty subsidiary shrines clustering around the main temple.

The main shrine standing on a raised platfrom (jagati) consists of a garbha-griha "measuring 12′ 6″ square internally and about 24′ 6″ along each side on the outside with a projectiog portico on the east."[66] The ceiling is made of horizontal slabs supported on two massive stone beams. The method is quite interesting and reminds us of the construction of wooden roofs. The present roof of the maṇḍapa seems to be a later addition, but nothing is known about when it was added. It seems that it must have had originally a flat roof of stone slabs supported by lithic beams, because this type of arrangement is seen in a few similar temples of Kumaon. For example the temple at Kheti Khān, near Champāwat, the Ādbadari shrine in Garhwal and a few temples at Baijnāth follow the same method of ceiling construction. The pillars on the portico are quite massive, but they lack ornamentation. One other feature of this temple is that there is one more storey over the garbha-griha. It is completely daık, but the feature reminds us of that of the Solanki temples of Gujarat and Rajputana and the Sās-Bahu shrine at Gwalior.[67]

As stated earlier, the śikhara has a remarkable superstructure and the elevation can roughly be estimated to about 50 feet. The construction of the exterior part is followed after the Rākshasa Deol, described above. The

64. Misra, N. N., "Ancient Historical Monuments of Baijnāth and Dwārahāt", *J. U. P. H. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 73.

65. See Fig. 7.

66. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1921–22, p. 51.

67. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

śikhara is built on stepped pattern.[68] There are broad horizontal recessed divisions followed right upto the end of the śikhara. The udgama or pediment on the facade is very eminently displayed and it may be stated in fairness that none in Kumaon can stand comparison with it. The śikhara contains about six bhūmi-āmalakas and a large-size niche flanked by two smaller ones in each side of the wall. The central niche is crowned by an aṅgā-śikhara. The associated niches follow it in the same manner. All of them are empty at present, but it seems that they must have once contained the images of Pārśvadevatās.

The cause to the dilapidation of this temple has been variously surmised by people. But it is said that the present condition is the result of an earthquake. However, nothing final can be stated about this.

The Art of the shrine

It is stated that "the original panel outside the main temple, depicting the Sun's chariot has been removed"[69]......from here. We cannot say about the authenticity of the above statement as it is not substantiated elsewhere. However, there are some interesting wooden leaves of the doorway, which were previously provided to the garbha-griha. The carvings on both halves of (Fig. 15. A) the door are arranged in four panels. The subjects delineated in them are mainly related to the gods and goddesses of Hindu pantheon.[69a] For example, Śiva is shown with his consort, so are Brahmā and Viṣṇu as well. Apart from it, the northern portion of the maṇḍapa hall contains a wooden pillar. Formerly they were two "each 1′ 6″ square in section and 5′ 10″ high. Late as these pillars are, their carvings call to mind some of the finest Gupta work at Sarnath and other places. The standing male figure on the left-hand-pillar, which wears a conical head-dress and a short sword on the left side, appears to be the god sun."[70] Unfortunately, the carvings of the remaining pillar are totally obliterated to check the above observation.

Besides these sculptured panels, one notices in the maṇḍapa an interesting statue made of aṣṭadhātu—an alloy of eight metals. It looks like a princely figure and is known as Paun Rājā.

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68. This method is seen in many of the Kashmirian temples and the temple of Gop in Gujarat. See Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 584.

69. Naravane, V. S., 'Ancient Monuments of Kumaon', *I. W.*, Aug. 23, 1959, p. 29.

69a. The photographs of the doorway leaves could be procured only when the work was in the process of printing. It was therefore not possible at this stage to know about the details of their iconography.

70. *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1922-23, p. 51

The temple at Bāgeśwar (Fig. 6)

Next to the Kaṭārmal, the shrine at Bāgeśwar is a most imposing śikhara shrine of Kumaon.

Facing to south, its elevation is also about 50 feet from the base. It has three mouldings of a plain and simple type. The shrine is comparatively simple in decorative motifs. But the śikhara has floral and chaitya window ornamentations on it. In a similar manner to that of the Kaṭārmal shrine, the śikhara here also is made of stepped pattern. There is a huge udgama-pediment on the facade, which is crowned by a squatted lion. Unlike the other shrines of Kumaon, the curvilinear element in this case is somewhat lacking. The apex of the śikhara ends in a big square and a huge āmalaka-śila tops it, which is finally covered by a wooden parasol. A clear-cut division between the jaṅghā and the śikhara is made by a horizontal moulding. This displays clearly the contrast to the rich scheme of the śikhara from the jaṅghā This type of vertical halves are noticed in one of the temples of Gajarat, namely at Pashtar in Kathiawar, though the mode of representation of horizontal moulding changes in this case by giving it a deep depression. From this type of arrangement in Gujarat, Saraswati is inclined to think that "originally it was not meant to be seen from outside, the sanctum being enclosed within a covered ambulatory, perhaps of wood......"[71] The observation may be true of Gujarat, but we do not see any sign of wooden structure in the Bāgeśwar temple,

Each of the face of śikhara has a pillared niche canopied by hanging eaves.

But the more interesting feature is the plan. The internal paln is quite different from the other temples of Kumaon. The garbha-griha and maṇḍapa are 12′ and 21′ square respectively. The maṇḍapa has four pillars supported by Kakshāsanas. The left and right corners are provided with narrow staircases to reach the upper storey which displays two dwarf pillars on each side in the same pattern of the Kakshāsanas. From the second storey two other staircases lead to the top on the roof of the maṇḍapa. This storeyed arrangement, though found in Kaṭārmal also, is perhaps a best developed form of this type having actual staircases. Nevertheless, this type of disposition is also found elsewhere in India. As stated earlier, the storeyed arrangement is found in the Sās-Bahū temple at Gwalior. But more than it, the best instance comes to us from Gujarat and Kathiawar. The Navalākhā temple at Ghumli and Rudramāl at Sidhapur possess this feature, though the Ghumli temple lacks staircases and "how this second storey was reached except by a wooden ladder, is not clear."[72]

71. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p 588.
72. Sankalia, *op. cit*, p. 104.

Finally, the ceiling follows the pattern of the Kaṭārmal temple, namely, horizontal stone beams supporting the slab-roof.

Thare are no sculptures of noticeable character and the pillars and walls are so thickly plastered with mud that it is difficult to discern their details.

Gopeśwar shrine (Fig. 17)

Gopeśwar, situated about three miles to the south-west of Chamoli town, is one of the most celebrated places of Garhwal. Though we see several shrines here, the grandeur of the main temple attracts special attention.

The shrine seems to have no name and so it is described here as the Gopeśwar shrine—a name after the place. Built on the principle of stepped arrangement like the Kaṭārmal, Bāgeśwar and some other shrines of Kumaon, it has a gigantic elevation of about 75 to 80 feet-probably the loftiest among all.

This shrine follows in many ways the stylistic pattern of the Kaṭārmal and Bāgeśwar temples. But there are marked differences also. For example, unlike the exterior appearance of Bāgeśwar shrine, the Gopeśwar temple possesses uniform look throughout the jaṅghā and śikhara.

The temple has three niches-one on each side-crowned by trefoil ends. Apart from it, one notices the reliefs of small chaitya-windows and human faces carved on the śikhara. The faces probably represented Śiva in his various dispositions. The crowned āmalaka-śilā is covered by a wooden parasol in a similar manner to the Bāgeśwar temple. A udgama-pediment also rises in the temple and contains a Naṭarāja Śiva on its face. It is finally crowned by a squatted lion.

The internal plan is also significant. Particularly, the garbha-griha with 20 feet square internally adds to it a new feature. It has four pillars, two from each side around the Śakti and Liṅga, thus forming a sort of pradakshiṇā-patha. The pillars are quite simple and plain and comparatively less massive. The maṇḍapa is also of the same size and totally astylar.[73] A courtyard probably of recent construction, precedes is sheltering a Nandi. Besides, there are undeveloped transepts in the maṇḍapa.

The temple lacks ornamentation internally, excepting the only sculptured replicas of five miniature śikharas on the lintal of garbha-griha doorway.

The ceiling is built on the same pattern as that of the Kaṭārmal temple.

73. This is a rare feature, for we notice almost all the temples of Kumaon having hypostyle halls.

But here, one notices the false beam-heads coming out of the walls as if to support the roof.

The temple at Lākhāmaṇḍal (Fig. 18)

Lākhāmaṇḍal is a small village in the Jaunsār-Bāwar of the present Dehradun District. Lying on the extreme edge of the district, the place is of considerable archaeological importance.

It seems that the site had many temples anciently, but only one has, however, survived intact. The temple appears to have no name, but it was definitely attributed to Śiva. It stands in the middle of the village and faces to the east.

The elevation ranges from 45 to 50 feet. Unlike the other śikhara shrines of this type in the regions of Kumaon and Dehradun, the temple has profuse exterior decoration. A single moulding in the base is followed by a trefoiled-arched-niche sunken in each wall. Two side niches follow the central one in the same manner. The cornice of the central niche supports the beam-heads, above which is seen another panel displaying Gaṇeśa seated in ardhaparyaṅka posture. The temple has all the curvilinear elements of the Nāgara variety Throughout the śikhara the ornamentation with small chaitya-window-motif looks very elegant. This reminds us of some of the temples at Osia in Rajputana.[74] The temple has a fine contour and terminating in a square pinnacle, it is capped by a fluted āmalaka. The parasol here is different from the other monuments of this Himalayan region, for it appears in four tiers. This has led some scholars to believe that it reflects a Buddhist influence.[75] The parasol is undoubtedly like the chhatrāvali type of the Nepalese stūpa,[76] but to contend that it has a Buddhist influence cannot be accepted. No Buddhist object has been found from Lākhāmaṇḍal and so it cannot be said that the guild working at Lākhāmaṇḍal followed the Buddhist principles only in the case of the parasol.

Instead, a very plausible assumption may be made that the parasol in the Lākhāmaṇḍal shrine is a remnant of the wooden temples. Though there is none of this type at present either in Kumaon or Dehradun, the reminiscence of such structures are not lacking from

74. Brown, *op. cit.*, Pl. XCVII and XCVIII.
75. Crocker, H. E., 'A Trip to Lakhamaṇḍal *J. U. P. H. S.*, Vol. IV, Pt. II, p. 29.
76. Fergusson, J., *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1910-1, p. 282.

Chamba[77], Kulu and Kangra. These wooden monuments exhibit a splendid storeyed elevation of the śikhara. It is indicated in the Lākhāmaṇḍal praśasti that a prince of Singhapura dynasty of Jālandhara built a Śiva temple at Lākhāmaṇḍal during the 6th century A. D. Though this shrine does not exist today, the present temple might have possibly borrowed some elements particularly the parasol from the earlier shrine.

The temple consists of a garbha-griha "18′ 8″ square externally and 5′ inside."[78] But as it stands today, it appears that the maṇḍapa at present is a later addition to the shrine. Probably it was a shrine with a garbha-griha and a pillared portico like those at Dwārahāt described earlier. The construction of ceiling is followed here also after the Kaṭārmal shrine and the Rākshasa Deol mentioned ealier.

There are several carved images of gods and goddesses on the temple of Lākhāmaṇḍal. The representations of Lakulīśa, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya are of special importance.

The chronology and Parallels

Three phases of temple construction are thus seen at Jāgeśwar. The last or the one designated as phase III came with a new style totally different from the vimānas of Jāgeśwar and Mrityuñjaya. Thus it can be roughly compared with the Osian group of temples in Rajputana and more clearly with the Pratihāra type.[79]

As far as the period of their construction is concerned, they have been attributed by Goetz to Atma Chand, the second Chand ruler of the dynasty. This view is, however, unacceptable to the present author. Goetz had held the view on the basis of his theory that Soma Chand ascended the throne of Kumaon as early as 850 A.D. and that he built the second set at Jāgeśwar and the construction of the third was completed by Atma Chand. As we have already seen, the first Chand monuments in Kumaon consist of those shrines of shallow pillared portico type. Hence they may be attributed to the first ruler of the

77. The Markulā Devi shrine (8th cent. A. D.) in Chambā-Lahul region is an outstanding example of this type. The second with a close resemblance is known from Chergaon on the Sutlej.
See Goetz. H., *op. cit.*, pl. X (referred to in Chapt. II) and Fergusson, J., *op. cit.*, p. 287, Fig. 161.

78. *A. I. S*, *A. R.*, 1923–23, p. 54.

79. Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

Chand dynasty. This ruler has been assigned elsewhere to c. 1000 A. D. and therefore, we can safely put these temples also to about 1020 A. D. i. e. in the last years of his reign.

The temples of Mrityuñjaya group at Dwārahāt also belongs to the same period. As noted already, they are not much dissimilar to those of the third set at Jāgeśwar. The plan, elevation, contour and general appearance remain more or less the same. Atkinson, on the authority of a fragmentry inscription engraved on a navagraha slab which is dated in the Saka year 1103, assigns all the principal temples of Dwārahāt to the early part of the 11th century A. D.[80] This view does not seem to be correct. On the basis of stylistic considerations, it is very certain that the temples at Dwārahāt range from the 11th to the 13th century A. D. Goetz also states that the inscriptional evidences at Dwārahāt "reveal a first intensive building period between A. D. 1029 and 1048 followed by a second flare-up of activities between A. D. 1143 and 1219."[81] The observation seems to be correct in the light of recent epigraphical evidences.

With the above considerations in mind, it may be stated that the Mrityuñjaya shrine at Dwārahāt belongs to about the first quarter of the 11th century A. D.

Next to these shrines, group B consisting of the Maniyan at Dwārahāt and a few at Ādbadari including the main shrine belong to one period. Slight variations in their stylistic features push them to a few years later from group A.

Group C or the Ratan Deo, the Kacheri, a few shrines at places like Kaṭārmal, Bhetā, Nālā and the monolithic temple at Thal belong to one period. This group of temples, it appears, is the creation of the so-called "second flare-up."[82] To be more precise, they belong to about the first half of the 12th century A. D Their general characteristics show that they were built comparatively ossified than the earlier temples.

The last group consisting of many temples of Kumaon, namely the two shrines of Kacheri, the Rākshasa Deol at Baijnāth, the Kaṭārmal shrine, the temple of Bāgeśwar, the Gopeśwar shrine and finally the Lākhāmaṇḍal temple of Dehradun, is the most noteworthy group among all. Though all of them form one group, they cannot be precisely dated to one single period. Almost all of them have been built in different periods—not having surely a long range of

80. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

81. Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

82. *Ibid.*

time with each other. First of all, the two temples of the Kacheri group seem to have been built just after the completion of the temple of Group C at Dwārahāt mentioned above, for they show some minor changes in their elements. For example, the pillared portico only shows a marked change from the other shrines by adding Kakshāsanas to them.

But the other monuments falling under this group are of utmost importance. Firstly, the Rākshasa Deol at Baijnāth probably belongs to the third quarter of the 12th century A. D. Its architectural details do not conform with the late tradition, when ornamentations in architectural design, comparatively big projections in plan and several other characteristics like the scluptural registers on the jaṅghā etc., came to appear very frequently on each and every monument. A dated shrine of later period, known as the Satyanārāyaṇa at Baijnāth itself shows entirely different characteristics from that of the Rākshasa Deol. And actually it follows many of the above outlines drawn for the late temples.

The date of the Kaṭārmal shrine has also remained a subject of speculation. Though the temple has been studied seriously from time to time, its date has never been finally fixed. Some have assigned it to the 10th century,[83] whereas others have vaguely remarked that it is comparatively late in date.[84] But these views cannot be accepted, if we have the stylistic considerations in mind. There is no feature which may be taken as to be of a very late type. But more than this, there is an inscription on one of the pillars, which, though highly obliterated, may be roughly assigned on palaeo graphical grounds to about 13th century A. D. Goetz has also estimated that it may be placed from about the 12th century till the beginning of the 13th century A. D.[85] His presumption, though not very clear, coincides with the proposed date above.

The Bāgeśwar temple

The shrine, as indicated earlier, has a few notable characteristics. It is also devoid of any inscription at present, though the famous Bāgeśwar praśasti has been obtained from here. However, the inscription does not help us at all as far as the date of the temple is concerned. What now remains are the stylistic features of the shrine. The shrine, as already referred, bears features similar to those of the early temples of Gujarat and particularly that of the

83. *A.P.R., N.C.*, 1916, p. 9.

84. *A. R. S., A. R.*, 1921-22, p. 60.

85. Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

temple I at Roda, which has been assigned to c. 7th-8th century A. D.[86] Neverthelees, it cannot be said that the temple at Bāgeśwar carries almost all the earliest traits in it. For example the element of double storey in the shrine is a later characteristic found in Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh after about the 11th-12th century A. D.[87] In this way it is difficult to reconcile and propound any definite date for it. Therefore, it may be tentatively said that this temple also belongs—like the Kaṭārmal shrine—to about the first or second quarter of the 13th century A. D. The temple, though associated with the Katyūri rulers, might have seen many additions and alterations with the changing times, when by the 13th cenury A. D. it seems to have reached to its present form.

The Gopeśwar shrine

This shrine has also no evidence to determine its date. As we have seen elsewhere, the iron trident bearing inscription proves the antiquity of the site. But we do not get any clue from it as far as the date of the temple is concerned. Therefore, we have to take into consideration the stylistic peculiarities of the temple. The stepped arrangement of construction, the undeveloped transepts in the maṇḍapa and the comparative massiveness of the entire structure call for a later date. Nevertheless, it cannot go beyond the 13th century A. D. and so it may be roughly contemporaneous with the temples at Kaṭārmal and Bāgeśwar.

The Lākhāmandal shrines

Like the other temples of Kumaon, the present shrine at Lākhāmaṇḍal is also devoid of any inscriptional evidence. The earlier temple referred to in the praśasti has been replaced by the present "more pretentious building."[88]

In one of the conservation reports,[89] attention has been drawn to the fact that the excavation around the present shrine in the compound has revealed that there was a brick structure of about 2′ 6″ below the present floor. The view that the original brick temple had fallen and a new structure was raised over it may thus be accepted. It is difficult to say as to when the earlier shrine had fallen and when was the present temple built. D. R. Shahni has, however, assigned it to "a century or two later in date"[90] than the Dwārahāt shrines.

86. Dhaky, M. A., *op. cit.*, p. 7.
87. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
88. Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
89. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1929-30, p. 17.
90. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1923-24, p. 58.

The observation is too vague to be relied upon. As discussed briefly, the shrine has a fine contour with detailed carvings and ornamentations. This implies a sort of definite specialization in artistic delineation, of course, without the least sign of later trend (14th-15th century) of plan elaboration and architectural details. Hence it may be placed to a middle period or, more precisely, to the closing years of the 13th century A. D.

Builders of the temples in Kumaon between 9th to the 13th century A. D.

It is really a problem to attribute with any definiteness the temples of Kumaon to any ruling dynasty or to any individual ruler. As we have seen before, the history of the region is highly disjointed. Further, almost all the extant monuments of Kumaon are more or less devoid of any direct epigraphical evidence. Therefore, speculation on stylistic consideration only works in proving the association of Kumaon temples with any of the known rulers of this region. One of such hypothetical views is that of Goetz, who surmised about the temples of Dwārahāt that their construction was probably completed after the downfall of the Chands, when the house of the Katyūris at Dwārahāt only attained a sudden power[91] It is difficult to accept this view. This is already noted that the rise of the Chand dynasty in the region of Kumaon is comparatively a late episode than that surmised by Goetz. The view of the present author that the rise of the Chands had taken place in the 10th century A. D.– if accepted—will automatically go against Geotz's contention of a revolution and power expansion of the Dwārahāt Katyūris. Instead, it may be stated that the later Katyūri houses at Dwārahāt and Baijnāth had nothing to do with the rise and fall of the Chand's. They kept themselves engaged in architectural activities without any break. This assumption does not even go against the theory that the completion of the third phase of temple construction (the Kedāreśwar and others) at Jāgeśwar was achieved under the Chands. We have already seen that the Chands had their rise in Champāwat—in the extreme east of Jāgeśwar—wherefrom they were probably permitted by the Katyūris of Askot to build the temples at Jāgeśwar because of the religious sanctity of the place. It seems that Somachand, the builder of this set, had no sway over Jāgeśwar, Dwārahāt and Baijnāth. He had friendliness with the Katyūris of these places, which was maintained by his successors also. This very fact probably accounts for the resemblance of the monuments at Champāwat to the Gujar Deo at Dwārahāt and the Satyanārāyaṇa temple at Baijnāth. These shrines will be taken up later under a separate group. However, with the

91. Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

present observation it is proved, as Atkinson says, that there were later Katyūris in the aforesaid regions. To substantiate his own views he actually remarks: the stray inscriptions at Baijnāth and Dwārahāt help us to "infer that the valley continued to be inhabited during the period and that the Katyūris still resided there. Another branch of the same family occupied Dwārā (Dwārahāt) and held possession of the valley of Ramagaṅgā."[92]

The upshot of the above discussion is that almost all the shrines at Dwārahāt, Baijnāth, Bāgeśwar and Katarmal—barring those of Gopeśwar and Lākhāmaṇḍal—were built by the different Katyūri houses at respective places.

Except this, we are not in a position to attribute each and evey temple to any individual ruler.

About the Kaṭārmal shrine there may be some hesitation in attributing it to one of the houses at Dwārahāt and Baijnāth. As stated already, one of the pillars of the courtyard contains the inscription bearing the name Malladeva, who is historically unknown. Nevertheless, it may be presumed that he was the builder of this shrine and since the suffix ends in Deva, it is quite likely that he also belonged to one of the houses of the Katyūris. It appears that he might have also belonged to the house of Baijnāth, as the present village of Kaṭārmal is in the direct line from Baijnāth and is within a short distance of it. However, there is nothing else to indicate it

The Gopeśwar shrine in Garhwal may be probably attributed to the rulers of Garhwal, whose rise is supposed to have taken place in the Bhillang valley. Since almost every shrine at Ādbadari is attributed to them, it is appropriate to take this shrine also as their contribution.

The Lākhāmaṇḍal shrine

Though the site has a long history of its own, the present shrine cannot be precisely associated with any of the ruling dynasties of the inscriptions found at Lākhāmaṇḍal. Both the inscriptions belong comparatively to an early period, while the temple proper has been assigned to a late period. Hence as far as the date of the temple is concerned, none of these serves our purpose. We should therefore, take into consideration the political condition of the time. It appears that the Rājās of Garhwal—known as the Pālas—might have attained considerable power during the 12th-13th century A. D. and as the region of Lakhāmaṇḍal was very close to their territory, it is very probable that they might have built the present shrine after conquering the entire Jaunsar Bawar area.

92. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 520.

This is, however, a tentative presumption, for whice further evidence is required.

Type VI.

Mediaeval

The temples at Champāwat; Gujar Deo at Dwārahāt and the Lakshmī Nārāyaṇa at Baijnāth

Somewhat alien to the usual type of temples of Kumaon, there is another at Champāwat, Dwārahāt and Baijnāth, which carries different features.

The first set of temples of this type is noticed at Champāwat in a small village situated about seventy miles south-east of the Almora town. It was the seat of the Chand Rājās of Kumaon upto the 16th century A. D.

There are three important temples at Champāwat, besides others of less significance. They are known as the Bālīśvara, the Ratneśvara and the Champāwatī respectively. All of them stand inside an enclosure.

The Bālīśvara double shrine (fig. 19.)

It is an outstanding temple with two shrines joined together by a covered passage each half consisting of a garbha-griha and maṇḍapa. Of the entire structure the domed maṇḍapa of the western shrine has survived. The other parts of the temple seem to have fallen down long back. Only the lower portion of the wall remains to a height of about six feet. The eastern shrine, as it exists today, appears to have been built in the recent times. But the remaining original portion helps us to know about the plan and alignment of the shrine.

The garbha-griha is saptaratha on plan and consists of seven vertical segments along the axis. The maṇḍapa wall—instead of seven—has five offsets on each face. The garbha-griha and maṇḍapa are six and twelve square feet respectively. The stone doorway of the shrine is still intact and the central figure on the lintel is Gaṇapati. "The ceiling would appear to have been on the principle of intersecting squares and the central slab may still be seen in the antarāla."[93]

The adjoining western shrine exhibits its details in a comparatively better manner. The moulded plinth of the shrine is wholly visible. The maṇḍapa is square with small projecting porticos on the north and south. "Originally it was supported on twelve pillars three of which have fallen down. All the

93. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1921–22, p. 53.

existing pillars are erected on a parapet wall 3'–6" high, with the exception of the two flanking the entrance of the cella, which start from the floor."[94] The surviving roof is domical with intricate architectural designs on the ceiling.

The Art

The shrine is full of carvings. From the bottom itself one notices decorative mouldings of floral and other designs. There are registers of elephant friezes running throughout the basement wall. The upper portion contains figures of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva with their respective consorts. Apart from it, there seems to have been several details of artistic decoration, but almost all of them have been lost now. Nevertheless, the ceiling of the maṇḍapa contains splendid architectural devices of concentric rings. The lower rings contain a series of brackets with representation of gods and goddesses, particularly Śiva in his dancing posture.

The pillars are also decorated profusely with floral designs, geometrical pattern and tiny human figurer, which cannot be identified due to bad preservation.

The Ratneśwar and Champāwatī shrines (figs. 20 and 21)

Apart from the Bāliśvara, there are two more shrines described already. Known as the Ratneśwara (Nāganātha) and the Champāwatī (Ghaṭota Kachha), both stand facing each other. The position of the shrines indicates that in all probability they had formed a pair like the Bāliśwara shrine having two adjoining wings.

The garbha-grihas are saptaratha on plan and the shrines are preceded by small and square porticos. The internal construction has hemispherical dome construction similar to that of the maṇḍapa in the Bāliśvara shrine.

The Art

Both of them are profusely decorated with floral designs, geometrical patterns and frieze-work. The ceilings appear to be more specialized in decoration. The portico ceiling in the Ratneśvara shrine is decorated with an intricate carving representing Krishṇa destroying the serpant Kāliya. It is depicted so beautifully that the tail appears to constitute an elaborate border to the sculpture. This art pattern is very commonly used even in the other shrines of Champāwat.

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94. *Ibid.*

The doorway of the shrines is carved decently. In the bottom of the jamb Śiva is depicted in the dancing posture having a viṇā in his hands with flanking attendants. The other panels of the jamb are filled with floral decorations. The lintel of the doorway depicts a row of navagrahas and above it there is a carved figure of dancing Gaṇeśa. The other figure may be Śiva playing a ḍamaru and the third one Krishṇa, probably playing the flute. More than this the Champāwati shrine exhibits a few interesting figures, all of them vigorously dancing. One of them beats a mṛdaṅga and the other a conch, while the third is in a dancing vigour.

Apart from the internal details, the outside walls are richly ornamented with sculptured figures. There are three niches, one on each side. The basement contains a frieze of elephants in a row in the similar manner of that of the Bāliśvara shrine. The walls are profusely carved with figures of gods and goddesses, Besides the Trinity, there are sculptures representing the various forms of Durgā.

The Gujara Deo at Dwārahāt (figs 22 and 23)[95]

Far from Champāwat in the western corner of the Almora District, one notices at Dwārahāt another prototype of the Bāliśvara shrine. In plan and other details it strictly follows the former, but the latter, unlike the former has a terraced (jagati) or the platform of about four feet height. The temple is in complete ruin. However, the present remains constitute about ten feet of high structure. This is quite helpful in ascertaining the value of the shrine.

The Art

It is profusely decorated more than what we see in the Bāliśvara shrine at Champāwat. It will, therefore, not be an exaggeration to say that its each and every stone speaks something of its own beauty. The walls of the shrine including the jagati (terraced platform) are embellished with architectural frets and elephant friezes. The middle portion of the remaining walls contain a series of sculptural registers which are of special interest. They contain figures of deities, who have been fashioned in Jaina styles—some of the figures turn out in naked posture or a diaphanous cloth covers the lower portion of the body. But all the figures are unclothed as far as the upper part of the body is concerned.

The garbha-griha also presents a few new elements. One of them is the presence of a flat stone, which bears a carved swastika symbol encircled by

95. See fig. 8.

two plain circles. There is no soma-sūtra drain (jalheri) in the present shrine, as is seen in the other Hindu temples and particularly in the Śaivite temples of India. Then the shrine has also a navagraha lintel.[96a] It cannot be pointed out as to how the present temple got associated with so many complexities, but since it had totally an alien inspiration, it is quite obvious that several elements of varied types might have been adopted simultaneously. Goetz has remarked that the present shrine along with that of the Champāwat are executed in the Jaina taste.[96] The observation seems to be fairly cogent, as far as the Gujara Deo shrine is concerned. As will be seen ahead, Dwārahāt yielded a few Jaina sculptures, which are of utmost significance, for we do not get anywhere else the traces of this particular sect in the entire Kumaon region. It therefore appears that the presence of the Jaina elements in the present temple had their borrowing probably from the temples of Gujarat and Rajputana.

The Lakshmī Nārāyana shrine at Baijnāth (fig. 24).

The garbha-griha is pañcharatha on plan. Unlike the other shrines of Baijnāth, it consists of many detailed features. The basement has several offsets and projections. Thus it follows the Bālīśwara shrine at Champāwat and Gujara Deo at Dwārahāt at last in matters of plan. The decorative mouldings are repeated upto the top of the jaṅghā. The śikhara follows the stylistic pattern of the other shrines of Baijnāth. But the contour and volume of the shrine are more specialised. More than this the temple contains a dated slab near the doorway. The date is given as S. E. 1214 (1292 A. D.). The date is significant in the sense that the temple represents the last phase of temple construction at Baijnāth, before which probably almost all the temples of this place had been built.

Chronology and Resemblance

The chronology of this type of temples is not much in dispute. Epigraphical and stylistic considerations give some indirect evidence. In Champāwat itself, there are two inscribed pillars near the Bālīśwara shrine, which are designated as the Vīrastambha and Kīrtistambha respectively. The inscriptions are dated in the Śaka year 1293 (A. D. 1371). Though none of these inscriptions throws any light on the temples, they can be of some value to us since they bear two definite dates, which may probably be contemporary with the temples.

96.[a] It is probably dedicated to Viṣṇu.

96. Goetz, H., "The Art of Chamba in the Islamic Period", *J. O. I.*, Dec., 1961, p. 127.

It is believed that the style of workmanship displayed on the temples assigns them approximately to the fourteenth century A. D.[97] Goetz on the other hand is of the opinion that, "Garur Gyān Chand's inscription of A.D. 1390 mentions the erection of a temple at Bālīśvara, Champāwaṭ[98]......" Further he adds that the present structure of Bālīśvara "is completely alien to Himalayan art, an undiluted import of the somewhat fussy and careless, degenerated variety of the beautiful but overelaborate late Solankī-Vaghela architecture of Gujarat such as it was revived in the 15th century A. D. in Gujarat and Rajputana."[99]

Both the views are valuable as they have the corroboration of the two inscribed pillars belonging to the 14th century A. D. Hence there may be no doubt in assigning the temple to c. 14th century A. D. There is yet one more suggestion that probably the temple had its lay-out even before that. At Baijnāth the Lakshmī Nārāyaṇa temple, which resembles the Bālīśvara shrine at least in plan and other elaboration belongs to 1292 A. D. and was constructed by some Katyūri ruler Hammir Deva. The idea of the plan of Lakshmī Nārāyaṇa appeared to have been possibly imported from Champāwat, where there was probably an existing style of this type. We cannot, however, precisely determine the date of the early stage of construction of the Bālīśvara shrine. But it appears that it must have been anterior to the date of the Lakshmī Nārāyaṇa temple at Baijnāth.

After the first structure had fallen another was probably raised upon it. Garur Gyān Chand, who describes his deed of construction in his inscription of 1390 A. D. had probably carried out a full-fledged reconstruction of the temple in 1371 A. D.—a date which we get from the 'stambhas.'[100]

97. *A. R., A. S. I.*, 1921-22.

98. Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

99. *Ibid.*,

100. Though the 'stambhas' contain the name Abhaya Chand, it cannot be reconciled with another inscription of Garur Gyān Chand belonging to 1367 A. D, which has been referred to in Fuhrer's list of inscriptions from Champāwat (cf). Again we get another inscription of this (Garur Gyān Chand) king dated to 1390 A. D. This evidence makes us to believe that Garur Gyān Chand who had established his power at Champāwat ruled for a pretty long time—the last inscription being of 1419. The 'stambhas' of Abhaya Chand, therefore, mark only a fruitful corollary of friendship and peace among the people of his own family. To be more clear, it may be stated that at the time of a full-flegded construction of the shrines at Champāwat under Garur Gyān Chand, Abhaya Chand of the same family erected these two 'stambhas' signifying also his own pious and spiritual acts.

The date of other two shrines, namely the Champāwati and Ratneśvara, is more or less speculative. Goetz considered the issue quite seriously. But his statements are not consistent as he has changed them from one to another very frequently. He remarks: "It is rather difficult to date them exactly, considering the extreme stagnation of this style over several centuries. Notwithstanding the rich decoration, their general character is rather plain and serene when compared with the Bāliśvara and Gujara Deo temples."[101] And then on the basis of similarity of roofs of the Mahākālī Mātā temple at Dābhoi, he assigns the temples to 13th–14th century A. D. But he again changes his view after comparing the porches of the temples with some of the porches in Rajputana temples and adds that the decoration reminds us of the construction of about the late 15th century A. D. And finally, he changes this view also after tracing out some of the late characteristics in the temples and assigns them to the 16th century A. D. Thus the whole issue is not clear at all. In the preceding pages, it has been pointed out that all the temples at Champāwat belong to the 14th century A. D.

Out of these views, the view propounded by Goetz is not without doubts. Though the temples are devoid of any inscription, their architectural details also help us in determining the date. The features of the Bāliśvara shrine have a close resemblance to those of Champāwati and Ratneśvara shrines. Though we notice a bit of degeneration in the delineation of figure sculptures, such as the gods and goddesses, dancers and others, it seems that almost all the temples at Champāwat were built together one after the other. Hence it may be very appropriate to place the above two temples also in the last quarter of 14th century A. D.

The Gujara Deo at Dwārahāt is dated slightly to a later period than the Bāliśvara temple at Champāwat. Goetz draws a similarity with Eklingji (Udaipur) which was built in 1488.[102] This is quite valuable, but we may instead assume that the idea of this type of temples had a common origin in Gujarat, which had later on spread to Kumaon and Rajputana in the succeeding waves. Thus we may say that the Gujara Deo temple was probably built after some years of the completion of Bāliśvara shrine at Champāwat. More precisely, it may be roughly assigned to the last quarter of 14th or the beginning of 15th century A. D.

These temples have remarkable similarity in matters of general appearance, architectural details and plan with those of the temples of Gujarat and Rajputana.

101. Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

102. *Ibid*, p. 49

In appearance the Bālīśvara resembles the temples at Sunak and Sandera in Gujarat.[103] Goetz has broadly connected the Bālīśvara and Gujara Deo temples of Kumaon with the Solanki style of Gujarat.[104] The observation seems to be true as we find a striking similarity between the decorative patterns of the temples of Rajputana and Kathiawar, namely those of Mount Abu,[105] Īdar and Mandal and the Bālīśvara and Gujara Deo in Kumaon.

Other Religious Architecture

Apart from the temples, there are several springs locally known as the 'naulā' throughout the region of Champāwat and a few in Garhwal. Out of many ruined ones, two are relatively in good state of preservation.

The first known as the Ek Hathiā[106] Naulā and situated about three miles to the north-west of the town of Champāwat is still in its waning grandeur inspite of the ravages of time. Having a six feet square inside and about fifteen feet elevation, it is covered with massive stone slabs. Inside, the walls are carved profusely (fis. 25) and are divided into panels. The lowermost panel has a floral design ; the second depicts Durgā seated on a lion and attended by the attendants. The other panels display Śiva, Viṣṇu and other gods and goddesses in beautiful adornments. Finally in the centre, there is a niche crowned by a miniature śikhara motif. In the niche of the north wall there is still an image in a highly obliterated condition. Besides all these, there are friezes of birds and animals also.

The roof is built in a domical pattern and so very closely resembles the maṇḍapa roof of the Bālīśvara shrine. The ceiling is also carved with architectural devices, but it lacks concentric rings.

The portico consists of two pillars and the ceiling is carved with dancing deities and Krishṇa's Kāliyamardana theme.

Another naulā is situated just outside the Bālīśvara shrine. It is a perennial spring protected with a stone built reservoir. In all details it resembles the Ek Hathiā Naulā.

From the ornamental carvings, it will be appropriate to place these 'naulās' (springs) as contemporary with the Bālīśvara shrine.

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103. Sankalia. *op. cit.*, Pl. XVIII, Figs. 31-32.

104. Goetz, H., "The Role of Gujarat in India Art History" *B. B. M.*, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 5.

105. See the art pattern of the ceilings in the Vimala and the Tejaḥpāla Temples in Mount Abu. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXV, Fig. 45 and Saraswati, *op. cit.*, Pl. XX, Fig. 41.

106. A local tradition is still current that the 'naulā' was built by a one-handed mason in a single night and therefore it was named as the 'Ek Hathiā Naulā.'

The question now arises as to what were the causes that brought out the art and architectural style from Gujarat and Rajputana to Kumaon. Goetz advances a view that Udyan Chand (1420-21 A. D.) "summoned brāhmins from Gujarat, the Bāliśvara temple must have been built by masons who had come in the company of these brāhmins." But here too we see that he changes his view by adding that "the idea, however, may go back to Garur Gyān chand's visit to Delhi."[107] Both the views are contradictory. Instead we may say that the relationship between Kumaon and Gujarat had already existed in c. 1000 A. D., when the Chands migrated from plains to Kumaon. But the actual exodus from Gujarat had taken place probably in about the 13th century, when the political turmoils caused by frequent Muslim inroads might have compelled several persons to flee away from their original homes. Especially several artisans and masons would have taken shelter in far off places of India, where they could have made their living possible. In Kumaon also, some of them had probably sought patronage of the Chand rulers, which might have helped the growth of alien art and architecture in this region.

Votive stūpa at Nālā

Besides the temples, there is a votive stūpa at Nālā, a place about 1½ miles to the north of Gupta Kāshī.

In the whole region, this is a single instance of the Buddhist stūpa.

It is about (Fig. 26) 7 feet in height and stands on a square pedastal. It has the usual aṇḍa, harmikā and chhatra. The pedastal is square with recessed corners Above it there are repeated mouldings. The aṇḍa is not totally hemispherical, as is seen in some of the early stūpas[108] in India or elsewhere. The harmikā is topped by a series of two chhatrāvali, one being groved.

In its appearance, it roughly resembles the Tibetan chortan[109] and the western Nepalese votive stūpa.[110] However, in the former the aṇḍa appears more to incline inwards from its lower edge typifying thus a true 'bowl of alms'. The Nālā votive stūpa suggests that it belongs to a later period, when the particular structure had undergone a great change in its shape.

On the basis of a few extant inscriptions, the site has been assigned to c. 12th century A D. Therefore, the present votive stūpa may also belong to this date.

107. Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
108. Longhurst, A. H., *The Story of the Stupa*, Colombo, 1936, Figs. 18 and 19.
109. Franke, A. H., *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Pt. I, Calcutta, 1914, Pl. XXXI, Figs. a and b.
110. Tucci, G., *Preliminary Report on the Scientific Expedition in Nepal*, 1956, fig. 22.

General observations

Kumaon architecture thus brings before us a fascinating story from its beginning to the end. Though the beginning had commenced comparatively late, it cannot be denied that after the Gupta period onwards to upto the 15th-16th century A. D., the Hindu architecture in Kumaon remained highly colourful in its each and every details. Before the beginning of stone temples in Kumaon, Fergusson[111] and after him Goetz have suggested that the temple in wood had once existed there. No comment can be made at present on the above observation. However, it appeared to have perished long before, even if it had existed once.

The Katyūris were the first builders. They had a high sense of aesthetics and so the credit of building a major portion of the temples and sculptures goes to them. Then the Chands came to Kumaon from the plains and so got their own ideas implemented in the art and architecture of the region.

Even during the time of the Katyūris, the temples of Kumaon remained highly receptive to assimilate varied elements from different parts of the country. Primarily, they were influenced from Rajputana and Gujrat. Some elements of the south Indian origin also came to be adopted in the temple architecture. Because of a great attraction for the Himalayan region from the political and cultural point of view and because of its being a celebrated holy place, thousands of people continued visiting this land from the most ancient past. The continuous flow of pilgrims as well as that of other people helped in the absorption of alien ideas in the art and architecture of Kumaon.

In the initial stage of the movement of ideas the temple in Kumaon followed the basic principles of the Nāgara type of temple. Thus the early temples at Jāgeśwar bear several elements of the Gupta period. At the same time the wagon vaulted type got eminence in Kumaon more than in any other place in India. It originated from the Buddhist Stūpa and was adopted in the subsequent centuries in temples of the South and the North equally. Another type at Jāgeśwar, having stepped walls, goes in greater conformity with the Pāpanātha temple at Pattadakal.[112] In the case of Pāṇḍukeśvar temple—as already suggested—the art pattern of the Pālas of Bengal appeared to have influenced greatly.

But the most remarkable period, which has left deeper marks on the architecture of Kumaon, begins after the 10th–11th century A. D. The temples after this period are fashioned more or less on the Pratihāra style. The type

111. Fergusson, *op. cit.*, p. 286

112. Saraswati, *op. cit.* PL. XXIX fig. 60.

had a flourishing centre, particularly at Osia in Rajputana and later on it spread throughout the States of Rajputana, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and even in the Uttar Pradesh. The pediments, the Kakshāsanas, the niches and even the porches at Baijnāth, Dwārahāt Kaṭārmal, Ādbadri and Bāgeśwar speak very well of the late Pratihāra-Solanki elements. Such is the case of the temples at Champāwat and one at Dwārahāt also. They are characteristically built after the Gujarati and Rajasthani temples.

It is said that the temples of Kumaon do not evoke vivid historical association and therefore their attempt to arouse curiosity appears almost pathetic. This seems to be an unjust view. In the first place, they are important architecturally and even from the point of view of art, which they have. Secondly, when everything was being destroyed by the iconoclasts, the temple could survive to give us a glimpse of the past glory. Though it may be admitted that the Katyūris and Chands have not left much of their own history, it is sufficiently proved by the extant remains that they were comparatively powerful and glorious among the regional rulers of India.

CHAPTER IV

SCULPTURE

"Indian sculpture is rarely found alone, it had to serve architecture chiefly as ornament of the latter,"[1] observes Sankalia. The observation well suits the sculptural wealth of Kumaon. Very few independent human figures have come to us from this region. The figures of gods and goddesses have been met with in large numbers and their iconography will be discussed subsequently. A major portion of Kumaon sculpture is found in the decorative parts of the temples, namely, walls, ceiling, pediment, doorway and lintel. Some references to such decorative motifs have already been made. However, a detailed study of the subject is required to build up a coherent picture. The sculptures from Kumaon may thus be classified in three different groups :

I. Human figures.

II. Animal figures.

III. Architectural design.

I. *Human figures* :—There are not many human figures in Kumaon. It is therefore difficult to describe them in a chronological order.

The earliest sculptures of this category are the two Dwārapālakas (Figs 29 and 30) of the Lākhāmaṇḍal shrine. Well executed in black stone, both have a height of 5ft. 10 in. each. Locally, they are known as the Pāṇḍava brothers Arjuna and Bhīmasena. This was, however, disproved long back when an inscription was found on the pedastal of one of the sculptures, which read 'vijayaḥ'[2] It seems, therefore, that they are both Jaya and Vijaya, the two dwārapālakas of Viṣṇu.

Each of the sculptures is two-armed with mace in the left hand, while the right hand is placed on the thigh, which roughly represents the Kaṭihasta pose. Each of them wears a jewelled mukuṭa, ekāvali (pearl necklace with a central elongated bead) and a short loin cloth.

The sculptures are the beautiful specimen of art with a definite superiority over the remaining mediaeval sculptures of Lakhāmaṇḍal. Their

1. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

2. *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1923-23, p. 68.

modelling having comparatively less ornamentations and faces with expressiveness place them in the late Gupta period (c. 5th century A. D.).[3]

Sculpture from Bāgeśwar (Fig. : 3)

Another human figure comes to us from Bāgeśwar. He holds a 'dīpa' in his palms and appears as if offering ārati. Usually such figures are female. Hence this male figure may be designated as 'Dīpadhara'. He has moustaches and beard and a turned wig on the head. A mālā and hāra adorn him, while three decorative strings hang over the thigh.

With these features, the image looks peculiar as there is no other such type in the region. Its prototype is also not available from elsewhere in India. Though the sculptures of Dipa-Lakśmī have come from various parts of India,[4] instance, of a 'Dīpadhara' is quite unknown to us. Therefore the sculpture is really noteworthy.

The dress and ornaments in this image suggest an affinity with the Rājasthāni-Gujarāti style. Actually the moustaches and beard along with the wig closely resemble the dress of the figures in a 10th century dance sequence from Sikar, Rajputana.[5] There is no trace of local influence in the dress and ornaments of the Bāgeśwar sculpture. But the decorative chain type dhoti, which seems to have originated in Gujrat and Rajputana, appears to have become more ornate in Kumaon and in the other adjoining hilly regions, like Kangra, Kulu and Chamba.[6]

Figures of attendants

Figures of attendants are noticed for the first time at Kāshīpur. The gods and goddesses are flanked by the attendants. But as the sculptures are in a highly mutilated condition, it is difficult to discern their details. However, they appear to be simple in dress and so belong to about 6th-7th century A. D. Other sculptures come from the temple at Jāgeśwar. Particularly the panels of Naṭarāja and Lakulīśa exhibit figures of attendants flanking respective gods. The attendants in the Naṭarāja panel present different characteristics. One of them—a chauri bearer adorned in long garment and long ear-ring—is comparatively well dressed. All the figures are portrayed by the sculptor in various gestures and poses according to their nature of works. The other panel

3. Vats and Agrawala, "A note on sculptures at Lakhāmaṇḍal, *J. U. P. H. S.*, XVII, Pt. I, p. 88.
4. Kelkar, D. G., *Lamps of India*, 1961.
5. Kramrisch, S., *op. cit.*, Pl. LXVIII
6. See Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 89,

of Lakulīśa represents the figures of flying Vidyādharas in a real flying posture. They have jaṭā-jūṭa quite similar with that of the Lakulīśa figure.

Bronze statues of Rājās (Fige. 32 and 33)

At Baijnāth the Rākshasa Deol contains the heads of the so-called demons. Their details are not clear. But the two temples of Kumaon, namely the Kaṭārmal and the Jāgeśwar possess some sculptures, which are made of Aṣṭadhātu, an alloy of eight metals. The statue at Kaṭārmal, known as the Paun Rājā, is 4'-6" high, while those at Jāgeśwar, standing erect and known by the names of Dīpachand, Tirumalchand and Paunchand, are normally 4 ft. each. The Kaṭārmal statue also stands stiffly with the left hand extended towards the navel, while the right to the chest indicating roughly a jñānamudrā. It is adorned with a necklace of beads and a ring on the little finger of the right hand A single garment works as the loin-cloth. The eyes and lips are damaged, but the ears are seen still decked with long ear-lobes. The statues from Jāgeśwar are, however, represented with moustaches and kingly robes, small round caps, yajñopavītas and short dhotis and one of them accompanies his consort also. She is decked profusely with ornaments. Particularly the nose-ring, resembling the present day 'natha' of the women of Kumaon, attracts special attention. On the pedastal we find their names as Dīpachand Deva and Dilīpamañjarī engraved in the Nāgarī characters.

These statues have aroused a natural curiosity among scholars and so various interpretations have been propounded by them. Notable among them is the contention of Goetz, who classified them under the Harṣavardhana style of art and which, according to him, reached Nepal and Kumaon in the mediaeval period. In Kumaon, he further adds that, "the slim and elegant bronze statues of the so-called Paun Rājās at Kaṭārmal and Jāgeśwar probably represent the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara."[7] The observation appears to be a little less convincing in the light of direct evidence. The statues at Jāgeśwar contain inscriptions mentioning names of the rulers and the deeds done by them.[8] This fact well

7. Goetz, *op. cit.* p. 61.
8. One of them bears the following inscription in the Nāgari character.
Śāke netrāṅga vāṇa sitirbhi (...) bhite mādhave śukla pakshe
Divyarhā vāṇa chūḍāmaṇi gaṇa kiraṇa śreṇi purṇagaṇṭasya
Śrimada yogeśvarasya sut vihitam Mahāpūjanāma sa vidhāya
Vipustānen rājā sitipati tilakama śri Trimalā mūrti
(The transcript of some lines is doubtful since the inscription is damaged).

indicates that all of these kings belonged to the Chand dynasty of Kumaon. Trimal or Tirumalchand seems to have reigned in the late 16th century A. D.[9] and Dilipachand probably came after him. One of the unpublished copper plate grants adds this name to the list of the Chand Rājās of Kumaon.[10] Since these rulers of the Chand dynasty belonged comparatively to a late period, the Paun Rājā of Kaṭārmal may also be placed contemporary with them. Hence the view that the art comes under the Harṣavardhana style cannot be easily accepted. However, it can be assumed that the tradition of fashioning the bronze statues of the kings might have come from Nepal in the late 16–17th century, when there were probably free movements from Nepal to Kumaon and vice versa. Another hypothesis may be that the art of casting bronzes might have come to Kumaon from Bengal through the Pālas in the early mediaeval period.

Dancing figures (Figs. 34 and 35)

The sculptures depicting figures in dancing vigour are met with in Kumaon in a comparatively large number. The earliest of this type is noticed at Kāshipur, in which the dancers flank the image of Śiva, who is shown seated in a central niche. A figure plays on a mṛidaṅga, while the other probably blows a conch. A few other figures associated with them are in a dancing posture. The other details are not clear. However, the general characteristics put the image roughly to 7th century A. D. Besides this, another elaborate composition comes to us from Champāwatī temple at Champāwat, in which the dancing figures accompany the musicians beating the mṛidaṅga and blowing the conch. They wear caps quite alien to Kumaon. They are round and short. The figures are adorned with beaded mālās and kuṇḍalas. As the temple type has been imitated from Gujarat and Rajputana, the resemblance of these figures to the Gujarati–Rajputana temple sculpture is very obvious.

Animal sculpture

Animal figures in the temples of Kumaon are not many. Nevertheless, lions and elephants are noticed frequently in the architecture of Kumaon. The squatted lion is a general feature of the temples. But its portrayal is comparatively common in the early temples and especially in the Yogavadrī at Pāṇḍukeśwar, it is quite vivid, while the absence is conspicuously noticed in the later temples of Kumaon. For instance, the Gujar Deo temple and all the other temples at Champāwat do not have lion figures. Instead of lion, elephant finds

9. Fuhrer, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

10. The plate was examined by the present author at Gadser village in Baijnāth.

a place in the decorative details of these shrines. The basement of all these shrines exhibit running friezes of elephants and some other animals like the bull. This trait is also quite common in the temples of Gujarat and Rajputana.[11]

Apart from these two animals, we notice the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā on the temples of Naṭarāja at Jāgeśwar and on the Lākhāmaṇḍal shrine riding the crocodile and tortoise respectively. Unfortunately their forms are worn out.

Yet an evidence comes to us about some other animals also. Particularly, ram has been used in the architectural details at Maṇḍhal in Dehradun District.[12] This evidence is not available from anywhere else in Kumaon.

Gaja-Siṁha (Fig 36)

A lone sculpture at Lākhāmaṇḍal depicts a lion on an elephant (Gaja-Siṁha). As it is lying in the courtyard, nothing can be stated about its utility and purpose. This type of representation is, however, common in the Orissan temples, where it is used as an architectural device being usually displayed on each of the śikhara–a projection of the figure of lion, rampant–especially in the Liṅgarāja and Koṇārka temples.[13] But as it is not used in the Lākhāmaṇḍal temple, it is difficult to point out its significance in relation to the above temple.

Mythical figures

The kīrttimukha figures are most common throughout the Kumaon region. As an important motif in Indian art and architecture, this has received a popular recognition in the Indian sculpture, especially in Gujarat and Rajputana. Almost all the Chālukyan monuments exhibit this trait.[14] In Kumaon the later temples, such as the Bāliśvara and Gujar Deo are devoid of this motif. In the early temples of Kumaon it occurs either on the front pediment or throughout the walls and on the pillars and their shafts.

The antiquity of this motif in India goes back to the Gupta period where, it looks more realistic[15] and which later attains stylization. This is particularly evident from the specimen belonging to the temples of Kumaon. The Jāgeśwar shrines depict the motif comparatively elaborate than that of

11. Dhaky, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIV.
12. Fuhrer, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
(The basis of the above statement is Fuhrer's report).
13. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, Pl. VIII, Fig. 16.
14. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
15. Vats, M. M. S., A. S. I. 70, Pl. XIII.

the Gupta period, but the later temples, such as those at Dwārahāt, Baijnāth and other places of Kumaon, represent the figure more in the form of a ferocious lion thus marring its own reality and shape.

The Dwarfs

The dwarfs are not a common feature in the Kumaon art and architecture. The stunted pot-bellied figures have been shown in the Ādbadari and Champāwat temples of Kumaon bearing heavy burdens. Excepting on these shrines, they are not seen elsewhere in Kumaon.

Architectural Designs

These may be divided into three classes:

(a) architectural designs

(b) geometric designs and

(c) floral designs

(a) *Architectural Design*

Though we cannot precisely point out the existence of architectural design in the temples of Kumaon, it cannot either be said that they are devoid of it completely. The lithic production of beam-heads and the ornamental motif of chaitya-windows on the temples of Kumaon may be referred to this context. The former device is distinct in the temple of Navadurgā at Jāgeśwar, the Yogabadari temple at Pāṇḍukeśwar and the Gopeśwar temple. The architectural false beam-heads appear as if supporting the upper structure. The latter design is, however, not very frequently seen. But the Lākhāmaṇḍal shrine is ornamented profusely with the chaitya-window motif. Because of its infrequent use in Kumaon temples, we cannot trace its gradual development in the region But it is definitely known that the association of this device with the monuments goes back to the times of cave architecture in India. The early form of this ornament "imitates the window-like hollow portion on the facade of the chaitya-caves at Bhājā, Kondane, Bedse, Kārli, Junnar, Nāsik, Pitalkhora and Ajanta."[16]

The chaitya-window motif on the temple of Lākhāmaṇḍal exhibits more decoration. This developed stage is found elsewhere in Gujarat and Rajputana. It appears, therefore, that the design had reached a complete transition by the end of the early mediaeval period.

16. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

Geometric designs (Figs. 37 and 38)

The geometric design usually forms part of architectural details. In the monuments we see several designs which have probably no bearing on their secular aspect, but they are done only for decorative purposes. One such decorative design is found on the temples of Kumaon at Champāwat. We do not know about its earlier existence, but on the later temples it is carved on the ceilings.

The temples of Champāwat have two types of ceilings. In the Bāliśvara shrine, there are concentric circles surrounded one by the other, thus making a cusped outlook. The decoration on the circles has been created by chiselling. In the middle of the circular ceiling a round hole is done for suspending a chained 'ghaṇṭā.' Besides, there are human figures around the circular ceiling—a few of them in dancing posture and the others playing different musical instruments. The ceiling in the Ratneśwar shrine has a slightly different appearance. The central circle appears in it like a full-bloomed lotus flower. It is encircled by another ornamental pattern with eight round floral designs. The border is decorted with small tablets.

Floral designs

The leaf and creeper is invariably shown in the temple architecture of Kumaon. The first known as the pot and foliage motif is noticed on the pillars quite frequently. The vase from which springs out flowers and leaves falling downwards usually decorates the lower part of the pillar.

This motif is characteristically found on the pillars of the Gupta temples. "Known as the *Pūrṇa kalaśa,* the bowl of plenty, typifying a renewed faith, the water nourishing the plant trailing from its brim, an allegory which has produced the 'vase and flower' motif, one of the most graceful forms in the whole range of Indian architecture."[17] Sankalia opines about its origin that "this may have descended from the floral motif on the medallions on the railings of Bhārhut and Sānchī stupas."[18]

The first instance of the motif from Kumaon comes from Kāshīpur in a piece of broken pillar (Fig. 39). After this the appearance is quite frequent in the temples at Jāgeśwar. The former probably belonging to the Gupta period

17. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

18. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

(It is (1) auspicious and apotropaic, (2) embellishing and complimentary, as well as (3) indicative and symbolical) See *Pūrṇa Kalaśa* or *The vase of plenty* by Prithvi K. Agrawala, p. 2. Varanasi—1965.

exhibits it in an elongated shape, while the latter changes it into a round form. The leaf and the flower do not remain so much luxuriant and their display becomes more or less artificial.

Another design, which may be designated as a scroll (Fig. 40) is seen on the doorway of the Naṭarāja shrine at Jāgeśwar. In it the flowers are mixed up with a diamond design. This motif also appears to have been popular in some of the Chālukyan temples.[19]

Besides, the mouldings of the temples demand our next attention. In the early temples of Kumaon i.e., those from Jāgeśwar, it is noticed that the basement mouldings are plain and straight, while the latter shrines, such as that of Lakshmīnārāyaṇa at Baijnāth and some other at the Dwārahāt and Champāwat, depict them in a most decorated manner. This latter characteristic shows them sometimes indented with lotus leaf or diamond pattern and sometimes with architectural frets.

Conclusion

Comparatively the sculptures depicting secular aspect of life are scanty from the monuments of Kumaon.

The sculptures in Kumaon temple exhibit various regional influences. As our monuments belong generally to the 10th century and onwards, it is noticed that several decorative motifs, architectural designs and temple sculptures in the Kumaon temples are imitated from Gujarat, Rajputana and Central India.

19. See Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 180, f. n. 13.
(The temples at Modhera, Sandhera, Kasara, Delmel, Vadangar, etc. show this representation.)

CHAPTER V

ICONOGRAPHY

The temples of Kumaon connot be strictly classified on the basis of cult images, since we do not find today a single icon enshrined in its original place. Many changes seem to have taken place in their location as we see even today a shrine sheltering images of various gods and goddesses. There are, however, a few shrines, namely the Lakulīśa and the Naṭarāja at Jāgeśwar and a few more at Dwārahāt and Baijnāth, which do contain the figures of gods and goddesses on the pediments, lintels, and niches. By such evidence their attribution to respective cults is possible.

Almost all the extant icons belong to the Brahmanic faith and hardly one or two testify to the existence of other religions, such as the Buddhism and the Jainism. As the Brahmanical images form a major bulk of sculptures, it is worthwhile to describe them first. They can be divided in the following groups :

(1) Śaivite images. It covers various forms of Śiva, Lakulīśa and the allied deities like Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya.

(2) Vaiṣṇava images, comprising all the incarnations of Viṣṇu.

(3) Brahmā icons.

(4) Sūrya and the Navagraha icons.

(5) Goddesses of Brahmanical religion (a) Śaivite, (b) Vaiṣṇavite, (c) River goddesses.

(6) Miscellaneous icons like Kubera and Garuḍa.

Before taking up the description of these sculptures, one important point may be stated here. The basis for any chronological order of these sculptures arrived at might depend on the following considerations :

(I) Stylistic ; (II) Inscribed data ; (III) Relative profuseness of ornaments and dresses.

(1) Śiva : The icons of Śiva may be classified into (a) those carved on the lintels or inside the trefoil pediments ; and (b) loose icons.

(b) *Trimūrti of Śiva*

Śiva figures are carved on the temples of Kumaon in various forms. He is invariably accompanied by his consort. Apart from this nature, the Trimūrti aspect of Śiva represented on the temples of Kumaon is very interesting. Almost all the pediments, doorway lintels and chaitya windows of the Śiva

shrines bear this image. This feature is also seen in the adjoining hill region of Chambā, Kangra, Kulu and also in the Indian plains and particularly in Orissa. The nature and meaning of these three faces cannot be ascertained with certainty for want of unanimity of views. The far-famed Trimūrti sculpture from Elephanta may be referred to this context. It attracted a wide attention and hence various interpretation have come before us. Some took it as representing the Brahmanical Triad.[1] Gopinath Rao challenged the view and put it as representing really an aspect of god Śiva. Quoting some passages from the Suprabhedāgama, he assigned it the name Maheśamūrti.[2] Banerjea has not accepted the above view and has contended that the face in the right side is feminine in character. He quotes an instance of another such relief from Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh, and concludes that this type "really represents composite form of Śiva, where his two aspects, Saumya and Ghora are combined with his Śakti Umā."[3] Quite different to these scholars Stella Kramrisch remakrs in the opening lines of her article that "the great sculpture of Mahādeva is an image of the fully manifest Supreme Śiva. In the middle is the face of Tatpuruṣa ; the faces of Aghora and Vāmadeva are collateral.[4]

From the evidence of Kumaon sculpture (Fig. 41) it can be said that each one of the faces is engaged in its own mood having closed eyes with perfect silence. It may be noted that the middle face with jaṭā and long ear-lobes is in an expression of compassion. The left face has benevolence, while the right one appears in a wrathful disposition.

The above portrayal fits in very well with the definition of Stella Kramrisch and emphatically supports that none but her statement appears to be fairly strong. Though this aspect of Śiva from almost all over India and particularly from that of Elephanta contains various manifestations, it is correct to say that "they are upheld and comprised by the power and unity of the total image."[5]

1. Particularly Havell was of this view. But he himself was not very sure for he recognised the feminine character of the face to the left. See Havell, E. B., *The Art Heritage of India* (Revised by Pramod chandra) p. 150, Bombay—1964.

2. Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II pp. 382–385, Pl. CXVII.

3. Banerjea, J. N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 457, Cal. 1956.

4. Stella, Kramrisch, "The Image of Mahādeva in the Cave-Temple of Elephanta." *A. I.*, 2, 1964, p. 4.

4a. The particular relief is carved on top panel of Lakulīśa temple at Jāgeśwar which is datable to about 7th century A. D. See for details : Nautiyal, K. P., An Iconographical Survey of Kumaon with Special Reference to a Few Unique Images, *East and West*, Vol. 15, Nos. 3–4, pp. 226–30.

5. Stella, Kramrisch, *op. cit*, p. 5.

Śiva in the Vajrāsana pose

The garbhagṛiha lintel of the Kedārnāth shrine depicts Śiva in this form. The details are lost, but the other figures in the jamb tell us that the majority of them represented the vīṇādhāra aspect of god Śiva. He is shown with vīṇā, nāga, ḍamaru and mātuluṇga (citron) fruit. Both the male and female figures flank him. It cannot be determined whether Pārvatī is also included with the associated figures.

This aspect of Śiva, apart from the Districts of Garhwal and Dehradun, is quite common in the south Indian sculptures. The reason for this similarity in the two far-off geographical regions may be owing to the movement of priests, craftsmen and commoners from the South to the holy places of the Himalayan region. It is believed that Śaṅkara visited Kumaon in about the beginning of 9th century A. D. Later on the Pañchāchāryas of Vīraśaivism are said to have established five mathas in different parts of India including Kedāra.[6] Therefore, these facts may be taken as responsible for the similarity between the sculptures of the South and the Kumaon region, particularly those of Kedārnāth and adjoining areas after the 11th century A. D.

Śiva's Nṛittyamūrti

Śiva is taken as a great master in the art of dancing, according to Hindu mythology. The nṛittyaśāstra is chiefly associated with this aspect of Śiva. The dance "personifies his universe in action and destruction."[7] And this type "more than any other, expresses the unity of the human consciousness, for it represents equally religion, science and art."[8] Stella Kramrisch opines that it carries "the cosmical suggestiveness"[9] in it, while Havell believes that it materialised the "abstract ideas of Hindu philosophy."[10]

This form of god Śiva obtained a large scale popularity in Kumaon region. The sculptures pertaining to this aspect are many. They are generally sculptured on the temples, excepting a few loose icons found here and there.

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6. Mahadevan, T. M. P., *The Struggle for Empire*, 'Śaivism', p. 445.
The date of Vīraśaivas may be roughly assigned to about the 12th century A. D., because Basava, the chief exponent of this religion is stated to have lived during A. D. 1156–1168). The Pañchāchāryas who were his predecessors must have, therefore, lived in about the last quarter of 11th century.

7. Rowland Benjamin, *The Art and Architecture of India, Buddhist–Hindu–Jain*, p. 198.

8. *Ibid.*

9. See *Indian Sculptures*, 1933, p. 176.

10. Havell, E. B., *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Lond. 1908, p. 70.

The two shrines of Almora and Garhwal, namely, the Naṭarāja shrine at Jāgeśwar and the Gopeśwar shrine in Garhwal are the best examples for the sculptured figures of this aspect.

The figure at Jāgeśwar shrine is of a fine finish (fig. 42). But both the sculptures from Jāgeśwar and Gopeśwar have a good similarity with each other. Both are depicted in the *lalita* pose. The former is decked with braided jaṭā-mukuṭa, necklace, a loin cloth and udarabandha, while the latter copies the former in almost all general adornments. Both are four-handed. They hold different objects in each of them. In the case of the former, the cobra is held in the upper right hand. The lower right hand is thrown to the left indicating the gajahasta pose. The upper left hand is held in the abhaya-mudrā, while the lower holds a triśūla. The dancing deity on the Gopeśwar shrine, however, carries a few different characteristics. The front hands carry a vīṇā, while the back left and right hold a nāga and a triśūla respectively. The representation of Naṭeśa with vīṇā is an usual mode of depiction in the sculptures from Bengal as by this form Śiva is presented a presiding deity of music. Like the sculptures from eastern India, some other similar types from north India show the bull standing beside the god.[11] This feature is also observed in the icon from (fig 42_a) Lākhāmaṇḍal in Dehradun District. Sivaramamurti has also referred to a type from south India, which according to him is the Viṇādhāra-Dakshiṇāmūrti of Śiva.[12]

On the basis of above data, it may be assumed that the aspect of Śiva as presenting the lord of music was a favourite theme for the Śaivas in almost all parts of the country. Slight variations were, however, followed in different geographical regions. The instance is clear from the Gopeśwar sculpture (fig 43) in which the absence of bull is quite conspicuous.

One more interesting feature is worthy of notice in the Gopeśwar sculpture, where Śive stands over a thin lotus platform. This feature is noticed generally in the south Indian sculptures. Especially in the Tamil country the lotus platform occurs as a circular or oval support beneath the dwarf. However, in the Gopeśwar sculpture the dwarf is totally missing. Thus this feature, though in accordance with the southern tradition, changes slighty.

These sculptures, besides the other features, contain some associate deities and attendants. In the Jāgeśwar sculpture the top corners depict raised seats

11. Sivaramamurti, C., "Geographical and Chronological Factors in Indian Iconography" *A. I.* 6. Pl. XXVI-A.

12. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVI-B.

with Kārttikēya and Gaṇeśa, the former riding a peacock, holding a stick and the latter in the ardhaparyaṅka pose, holding a snake and the pot of modaka. In the foreground are seated male and female musicians, numbering four, while in the Gopeśwar sculpture there are only two. In the former sculpture, a seated dwarf hurls a cobra to smite the Naṭarāja. Vats has identified him with Mūyalka. However, this identification cannot be accepted since the dwarf is usually shown either being trampled by the deity or in a prostrate condition. He further attempts to identify the other figures also. Thus he takes the singing figure as Lakṣmī and the figure playing on the vīṇā as Saraswatī. The male figure playing the flute is identified with Indra or Bhṛgu.[13] The associate figures in the Gopeśwar sculpture are also shown playing different instruments. One of them in the right appears to be a drummer as the object held by him closely resembles a nagārā or drum. This nagārā signifies a local element in the sculpture as its prototype is still beaten in the temple of Kumaon in the morning and evening before the start of daily ritual.

These sculptures may be dated on the basis of some associated data. The Jāgeśwar sculpture, undoubtedly, belongs to about the first quarter of 9th century A. D. This has been already seen elsewhere that the shrine belongs to this date and so needs no further elucidation. The other sculpture from Gopeśwar on stylistic ground belongs to about the second quarter of 13th century A. D.

Vyākhyāna-Dakṣiṇāmūrti of Śiva

The Yoga, Jñāna and Vyākhyāna-Dakṣiṇāmūrtis of Śiva are mostly south Indian in character. The Vyākhyāna form is shown as teaching the sages the meaning of yoga and jñāna. In other words it presents him as a great exponent of Śāstras.

Several instances may be cited regarding the existence of this type of icons from Kumaon. Apart from some stray icons pertaining to

13. Vats, M. S., "Mediaeval Śaiva Sculptures from Jagatsukh and Jāgeśwar" *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1926–27, p. 235.
Vats identifies the above deities on the basis of the testimony of *Śiva Pradoṣa Stotra*, which gives description of the evening dance of Śiva in the Himalayas like this: "Sarasvati plays on the Vīṇā, Indra on the flute, Brahmā holds the time-marking cymbals, Lakṣmī begins a song, Viṣṇu plays on a drum, and all the gods stand round about." See Coomaraswamy, A., *The Dances of Śiva*, Bomb–1948, p. 84.

this form, there are several scluptures carved on the lintels and walls of the temples.

A Vyākhyāna-Dakṣiṇāmūrti of Śiva is carved on the facade of a small shrine at Jāgeśwar. The sculpture is in a badly mutilated condition and therefore the details are almost lost Notwithstanding that, it is possible to say that it had four arms with two front hands in jñāna and varada poses. Rest of the hands are broken. Two figures seated in the namaskāra mudrā are depicted in the foreground. One looks like a sage, while the other is probably a female figure. It seems that the female figure might have been shown to represent. Pārvatī, "who according to Kumārasambhava story waited upon Śiva while he was performing austerities in his hermitage before his marriage with her. The male figure may stand for one of the Śivagaṇas."[14] The other ṛṣis usually accompany the extant figures, but nothing definite can be said about this image since it is in a highly obliterated condition.

The loose icons from Jāgeśwar, Baijnāth and Dwārahāt resemble each other in almost all the features. All are shown seated with yogapaṭṭa around the leg. However, the Baijnāth image differs in sitting posture, for it shows him seated in the vīrāsana pose. Almost all the extant images bear four hands. Out of them the Jāgeśwar image (fig. 45) shows four hands in different attitudes. The upper right hand is in the jnānamudrā, while in the lower right is held a flower, probably a nilotpala. The upper left hand holds a triśūla and the lower is thrown around the neck of his consort. The same traits are noticed in the image from Baijnāth. Nevertheless the lower left hand in this icon is either invisible or broken.

The decoration in all the images is rich. The figure is shown with jaṭā-jūṭa, which is embellished with flowers and plants. The Baijnāth image depicts Śiva adorned with deer skin in the Upavīta fashion. Umā is shown seated on the left thigh of the god. In her case as well, the ornaments like the mālā, hāra, keyūras and kaṅkaṇas are exquisitely displayed. The associating figures in both the icons carry almost similar features. The Jāgeśwar image has a bull, lion, Gaṇeśa and Kārttikēya on the peacock occupying the entire foreground region. Top corners depict Vidyādharas with mālās. The sculpture from Baijnāth, besides these, adds to it two ṛṣis with trident, apasmārapuruṣa and a dwarf. But one broken image from Baijnāth presents quite a different representation. One notices in it only the animal figures like lion, elephant, bull etc. This icon, but for the absence of deer, carries the features of the Nārāyaṇa form of Viṣṇu, as may be seen in the Gupta

14. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

sculpture from Deogarh, where deer and snake are shown at the god's feet.[15] Many other details seem to have been lost from the Kumaon image. However, this image carries very elaborate features and so contributes something of its own kind to the iconographical data of the north. One Pallava sculpture of this type has been illustrated by Sivaramamurti.[16] In this image also all the animals like the bull, the lion and the elephant are conspicuously missing, excepting that of the deer and the snake.

These Dakshiṇāmūrtis, as noted before, are more south Indian in character. One more instance of a north Indian variety can, however, be cited in a terracotta plaque of the late Gupta period from Ahichhatra (Bareilly District).[17] In this plaque Śiva is shown in the form of a reposeful ascetic, indicating his jñāna-dakṣiṇāmūrti form. This is undoubtedly an interesting evidence. The presence of this type of representation from the north lead us to believe that the form was already known there in the early centuries of the mediaeval period,[18] though it may be surmised that the aspect attained a comparative preference in the south than in the north after the 8th century A. D.

The Dakṣiṇāmūrtis are thus of varied character. As has been noted above, the Baijnāth image particularly (fig. 46) represents both the god and his consort. This feature is totally new to this type of images. Besides this, several other icons from Kumaon are noticed with elaborate features. The reason for it might have been the influence of the Āgamas in the already existing rules of iconography.

The evolution of this sort of icons must have started in Kumaon region in about the 8th-9th century A. D. Hence the sculptured image of Dakshiṇāmūrti at Jāgeśwar may be roughly assigned to this period.

The other loose icons from Jāgeśwar and Baijnāth are of a later period. At any rate, they cannot be earlier than the 11th-12th century A. D. Many details seem to have crept in the art of this period, and so there appears a profuseness in the outwardly appearance of the sculptures.

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15. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXII-A.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 471.

18. According to Dasgupta, "most of the Āgamas... ...were completed by the ninth century A. D. Some of them were current in the time of Śaṅkarāchārya, who lived sometime in the eighth or ninth century A. D." See Dasgupta, S. N., *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Cambridge, 1955, p. 17.

Āliṅganamūrti. (Fig. 47).

In the present form the god is generally shown standing with his consort. Rao has emphatically pointed out that "this type of Śiva should be a standing one." [19] However, contrary to the established practice, a few seated images of this type have come from Bengal.

In Kumaon also an image from Baijnāth is in the seated posture. The present icon goes against some of the set principles. Though it combines diverse features of Jñāna, Vyākhyāna and Umāmaheśvara, the act of embracing each other evidently leads one to believe that it is an Āliṅganamūrti of its own, type.

The god in the Vīrāsana posture rests his consort on the left thigh. In the right hand is the mātuluṅga (citron) fruit, while the left is thrown around his consort so as to touch her breast. He appeared to have four hands in different poses, but the rest of them are probably broken. In the similar manner to that of Śiva, Umā has also thrown her arm around Śiva's neck, thus forming an enbracing posture. In the foreground are seen a Nandī and some other indistinct male and female figures.

The couple is highly adorned with profuse ornaments and clothes. The bodily grace is visibly diminished. The couple looks in a comparative tension and the graceful and sublime poise is absent. All these developments stand witness to a late phase in the plastic wealth of India and particularly to the art of Kumaon. Hence this image on stylistic considerations might be put roughly to the 14th century A D.

Tripurāntakamurti at Lākhāmaṇḍal (?)

Śiva as a great destroyer has been depicted all over India These sculptures illustrate the stories connected with his particular act of destruction.

South India seems to have the largest number of this type of sculptures. They are comparatively lesss in the North and particularly in the entire Kumaon and Dehradun region, except for one instance, we find no traces of such icons. The concept of destruction has been treated somewhat differently in the north than in the south. Here the specific act is united together with other acts, such as the combination of Gajāntaka and Andhakānataka, which make it more composite. The forthcoming instance will prove this observation.

The so called Tripurāntakamūrti (3 1/2′ x 2′) (Fig. 48) from Lākhāmaṇḍal made out of quartzite carries a few controversies. Scholars like Vats

19. Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 121

and Agrawala have identified the present bas-relief as representing god Śiva in his Tripurāntaka form.[20] But the nature and portrayal of the form indicate that the present identification is subject to disagreement. In his Tripurāntaka form, Śiva is generally represented as killing the three asuras of the three castles (Tripura). But, as will be shown, the present act of the god puts him to a somewhat different identification.

Śiva stands in the pratyālīḍha posture having eight arms, in two of which he carries a triśūla held aloft with a pierced body of Andhakāsura. Two other hands hold up the elephant skin like a canopy. The rest of the hands hold paraśu, nāga, dhanuṣa (?) and the one on the right is held in the abhayamudrā. With his left leg he crushes a figure–probably Apasmāra–who is usually shown trampled by Naṭeśa and Dakshiṇāmūrti figures. Pārvatī is seated on a low seat to the right of Śiva and is being touched by the god at the chin. She appears to hold Kārttikēya, as if to afford him protection from fear. On the left side is another figure, probably a female. This may be identified with Yogeśvarī, the emaciated goddess produced from the flame of Śiva's third eye. Near the leg stands a gaṇa in the attitude of adoration. The matted hair of god Śiva stand erect on his head and he is adorned with a long skull-garland and a sarpa-yajñopavīta.

Thus the identification goes a little against the purposed Tripurāntaka form by the following reasons :

That the figure being trampled may be taken as that of Apasmāra.

The second figure in the antarikṣa region shown quite subdued, though with a dagger, may better be taken as the Kālī, who is also prescribed in the divine episode, and not the demon. The third figure in the sky is quite clear to be identified with the demon Andhakāsura, who is being pierced by Śiva's trident.

As the image presents varied features, it cannot be said that it represents any independent aspect of god Śiva. The present sculpture depicts some features of Tripurāntakamūrti, some of Gajasaṁhāramūrti and a few of Andhakāsuravadhamūrti. A few other examples of the composite type of Andhakāsuravadhamūrtis come from Elephanta, Ellora[21] and Orissa.[22]

It has been stated already that the themes of destruction in the Śiva icons usually got united together in the north. Sivaramamurti remarks:

20. Vats, M. S., and Agrawala, V. S., "A note on the Sculptures from Lākhāmaṇḍal", *J. U. P. H. S.*, Vol. XVII, Pt. I, p. 87.

21. Rao, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLVI and XLVIII.

"The combination of Gajāntaka and Andhakāntaka represents the north Indian tradition and in a way it is appropriate, as according to the story of Varāhapurāṇa, Gajāsura was first overcome by Śiva, who used the hide of the animal as an upper grament before he attacked Andhakāsura."[23] The compositeness of the image from Lākhāmaṇḍal is thus in accordance with the north Indian tradition.

The present image implies several concepts. Therefore, no one nomenclature may suit it. However, from the general features, it may be designated as the representation of Andhakāsura-Gajasaṁhāramūrti.

The image on stylistic considerations, such as the ornaments and the other outwardly decoration, belongs to 8th century A. D.

Umāmaheśvara

The images of Śiva with saumya or peaceful disposition are known variously. The names "mainly of a descriptive character in the iconographic texts are collected in the Śaivāgamas."[24] The above name is one of the many varieties of Śaiva images.

The Umāmaheśvara images have been reported in abundance from almost all over India. Barring a few regional dissimilarities, the general principles followed in shaping this type of icon are almost the same.

Kumaon also abounds in these images. Many mutilated sculptures, though reflecting a past grandeur, lie scattered everywhere. From these broken icons one is compelled to assume that the Rohillas carried on operation for the mass scale destruction of monuments during their invasion of Kumaon in the late mediaeval period.

A few images of Umāmaheśvara, which seem to have escaped the fury of these icconoclasts are worthy of description. The images from Kālīmaṭh and Ādbadari—both in Garhwal District—may be taken as the best specimen of art.

The Umāmaheśvara image from Kālimaṭh (3′ 4″ × 2′) enshrined (Fig. 49) in a temple is still in a state of worship. The image from Ādbadari is (Fig. 50) kept in the maṇḍapa of a small shrine. In both the cases, the god is shown seated in the lalitāsana pose facing his consort, who is seated

22. Panigrahi, K. C., *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneśwar*, 1961, p. 144.
23. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
24. Shukla, D. N., *Vastu-Śāstra*, 1958, Vol. II, p. 150.

on his left lap. The image from Kālīmaṭh has four hands, while that from Ādbadari is presented with ten hands. The former holds mātuluṅga (citron fruit) in the lower right hand. The upper left hand bears a triśūla, while the lower is thrown round his consort Umā so as to touch her breast. The upper right hand is raised upwards holding a dhattūrā flower, which is being licked up by a snake moving gradually through the trident from the left side. The latter image having ten hands bears such objects as a trident (triśūla), kharpara, khaḍga and probably a śūla in the right hands, while those on the left carry a khaṭvāṅga, kheṭaka and a pāśa (?). The remaining two hands are held in the varada and abhaya mudrās. The fifth hand on the right side is thrown around the waist of his consort in the manner of caressing her. This ten-handed image is significant because it fulfills the rules laid down in the Suprābhedāgama, wherein it is stated that Maheśa should have two legs and ten arms.[25] In the Kālīmaṭh image Umā is shown resting her right hand on Śiva's lap and left leg on the lotus seat. In the latter image, however, she throws her right hand around Śiva's neck. With the couple are accompanied accessory gods and goddesses in reverential attitude. Among all of them Kārttikēya is shown seated on a peacock with a sweet ball in his hand, while Gaṇeśa is depicted in the ardhaparyaṅka posture. Apart from the other male and female figures, there is a couchant nandī (bull) included in the representation. One of the female figures is offering flowers at the foot of Śiva. In the Ādbadari image an emaciated figure is seen in the dancing posture. This may possibly represent ṛṣi Bhṛiṅgi, who is recommended as one of the associates in such type of images. The inclusion of a few detailed features has made the Ādbadari icon more elaborate and interesting. A lion with two dwarfs actually holding the chauris are added to it. On top corners are seen Bhramā and Viṣṇu in the kamalāsāna pose bearing śaṅkha, chakra, gadā and padma. The top portion behind the head, which had probably a prabhāvalī (halo) once, is now broken.

The gods and goddesses are beautifully adorned in these images. Śiva is decked with karabaṅdha, keyūras and kaṅkaṇas. In the Kālīmaṭh image a band of cloth popularly known as yogapaṭṭa is shown tied around the right leg of the god. Umā is also depicted with perfect grace. The goddess in the Kālīmaṭh image holding sportively one of the braids of her hair is decked with kaṅkaṇas, hāra and big circular ear-rings. An ornament having peculiar shape is worthy of description. It is worn on the ankles and resembles modern paiṅjanī, which is quite common even now throughout the region. A round ball made of hair is tied with the maṇimālā (garland of rubies).

25. Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. II, Appendix B, p. 191.

She seems to wear the kuchabandha and udarabandha and a diaphanous cloth drapes her body.

The above icons are most representative types of the Kumaon Umā-maheśvara-mūrtis. Both have followed the injunctions that are enjoined in the iconic text. To be more precise, the Kālīmaṭh image tallies with the description as given in the Rūpamaṇḍana,[26] while the other from Ādbadari presents varied features. In this image Śiva is shown with three heads. The idea behind such a representation might have been the combination of different aspects in one form. For example, besides the trimūrti aspect, the image portrays features of Āliṅgana-mūrti also.

Both the icons can be possibly dated on the basis of available evidences. In Kālīmath a shrine bears a praśasti of c. 8th century A. D., which indicates that the site itself belonged to this age. And therefore, the present image may be put contemporary with this period. In its features also it contains some of the post-Gupta traits. The supreme elegance and beauty in the image combined with the glimpses of sobriety and spiritual serenity on the faces of the couple testify to this fact. The Ādbadari image can be dated on the basis of two facts. Firstly, the shrine contains an image of Garuḍa, whose artistic delineation carries similarity with the aforesaid image. This Garuḍa image more than anything else contains an inscription of about 10th century A. D. As such, it may not be wrong to assign the same date to this Śiva image also.

Kalyāṇasundaramūrti

The theme pertaining to Śiva's marriage, generally known as Kalyāṇa-sundaramūrti or Vaivāhikamūrti, is well illustrated by sculptures throughout India. Some of these are really fine products of Indian art. The Elephanta and Ellora reliefs depicting Śiva marrying Pārvatī (pāṇigrahaṇa) are the outstanding examples of this type.

Unlike the other icons, the Vaivāhika or marriage-images are rare from Kumaon. One solitary instance of this nature, however, deserves notice. The marriage scene (pariṇaya) is depicted in one of the images at Joshīmaṭh in Garhwal. The image, about three feet high, is enshrined in a small temple facing to north and is still in the state of worship. The icon is highly elaborate in details (Fig. 51) carrying almost all the iconographical principles set in the Āgamas.[27]

The image depicts Śiva standing with the right leg raising slightly forward. He has four arms in which he carries different objects. His back-right hand

26. Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Appendix B, p. 71.
27. Ibid. pp. 171–78.

holds a triśūla and the front the stretched right arm of Pārvatī in the act of pāṇigrahaṇa. The back left hand holds a cobra, while the front left is held in the varada pose. He is adorned with jaṭā-mukuṭa, kuṇḍala, vaijayantī, udarabandha and an apparel reaching the knee. Pārvati is decked with a mukuṭa, an ornamental apparel, kankaṇas and mālās. Her hair-style is decent having a sort of round ball at the back; from which falls a long braid reaching the thigh. Her facial expression depicts modesty and grace combined with a shy look truely representing the occasion. Śiva looks dignified and youthful. On the foreground is seated Brahmā before the sacrificial fire performing homa. On the right corner stands Viṣṇu holding a golden pot. He is accompanied by his consort. Viṣṇu appropriately represents the time since he is taken to be the giver of bride. On the left side the couple probably represents Indra with his consort.[28] The stele is decorated with the elephant and horse friezes on both the sides. The top corners are occupied by two seated couples. The right one represents the Yogāsanamūrti of Śiva with Pārvati on the lap, while the corresponding left depicts him in the Vyākhyāna mudrā. The top end is decorated with a row of Dikpālas hovering in the sky on their respective mounts. From the right to the left are Indra on an elephant, Agni on a ram, Yama on a buffalo, Vāyu on a stag (?) and the last one is broken.

The present icon is totally suggestive of the idea it intends to illustrate. The extant images of this type may be referred to this context One such image of this type comes from Kanauj.[29] The similarity of both of these sculptures is so much that it leads one to doubt whether they were the two works of one and the same chisel. However, the Joshīmaṭh image carries some additional features. Firstly, the Elephanta and Ellora panels may be discussed[30] in this context. They belong to an early date and are grand in conception and execution, which we lack in Joshīmaṭha image. But despite minor weaknesses in the Joshīmaṭh image, it furnishes many new elements. The representation of Viṣṇu and Indra, the horse and elephant-friezes and the depiction of Śiva's other aspects make it highly noteworthy. The image from Kanauj seems to belong to a slightly early period. If so, the multiplicity of features put the Joshimaṭh image further ahead by three centuries, that is in about the 12th century A. D.

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28. Another relief of Kalyāṇasundaramūrti from cave No. 29, Ellora also represents Indra along with Śiva. See Sen Gupta, R., "The Panels of Kalyāṇasundaramūrti at Ellora." *Lalit Kalā*, No. 7, April 1962, p. 17.

29. Sivaramamurti, *Indian Sculpture*, New Delhi, 1961, pl. 34.

30. Sen Gupta, *op. cit.*, Plv Fig. 4 and Pl. VI, Fig. 5.

Bhairava

Apart from the saumya variety of Śiva so far described, several reliefs depicting his 'ugra' form are noticed throughout India. They do not, however, illustrate any particular story pertaining to god's life. Out of many such types, one is popularly known as the Bhairavamūrti.

There are not many icons of this type in Kumaon. At Jāgeśwar there are two life-size Bhairavamūrtis, installed outside the Mṛityuñjaya shrine as Dwārapālakas. They possess various āyudhas. The left figure carries the kapāla, kharpara and triśūla. The figure on the right holds almost all the objects quite different from the first one. They are a frisking deer, a three-hooded snake, a trident (triśūla) and a severed human head (muṇḍa). Both the images are well adorned with necklaces, kaṭisūtra and a long garland of skulls (muṇḍamālā). The kapālamālā ties the jaṭā-jūṭa. The right figure is shown with moustache.

The moustached images are reported to have been found in various parts of India. Examples can be cited from Somanāth (Gujarāt),[31] Khiching (Orissā)[32] and Ahār (Rajasthān.). Therefore, there is nothing new of the moustache in the Kumaon image.

The frisking deer element and the association of dog with Bhairavamūrtis are the south Indian traits and have not found place in the northern sculptures. This shows that Kumaon art was very much eclectic in its behaviour in all the centuries.

On stylistic consideration and profuse elaboration in features, these images can be roughly put to 11th–12th century A. D.

Hari–Haramūrti (Fig. 52)

Some of the sculptures belonging to the mediaeval times illustrates in a characteristic manner a rapprochement between various rival cults. The reconciliation is emphasised by depicting gods in composite forms associated with their respective emblems. One such sculpture of major importance is the Hari–Haramūrti, a composite icon of Śiva and Viṣṇu.

We have only two instances of this image in our possession. The first is a mutilated image from Gopeśwar, which has recently been discovered in a field, and the second from Baijnāth.

The Gopeśwar image presents characteristic compositeness by a clear line of demarcation between the head-dresses of Hara and Hari. The crown of Hara is well depicted with a jaṭā, while that of Hari with a kirīṭa-mukuṭa.

31. Sankalia, H D , *op. cit.*, p. 143.
32. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXV, Fig. 1.

Almost all the other details are lost. But the other image from Baijnāth still carries some elaborate details. Standing in abhṅga pose, it carries different objects in its four hands. Besides the broken hands, the two front ones hold a triśūla and a chakra—the two characteristic emblems of Śiva and Viṣṇu respectively. A cobra rising forth from Hara's side entwines the trident. The left ear is endowed with makara-kuṇḍala, while the right one with a sarpa-kuṇḍala. The present icon may very well be compared with the image from Bādāmī in respcct to its details and representation.[33] The bull, peeping upwards in association with the gaṇas, has a sharp resemblance to the Bādāmī sculpture.

The present icon possibly belongs to the 9th cent. A. D. of which period there are also a few inscribed sculptures at Baijnāth carrying marked smilarity in features with the present image.

Lakulīśa

Lakulī, who is taken to be the 28th incarnation of Śiva in the Vāyu and the Liṅga Purāṇas, was born at Kāyārohaṇa, modern Karvan in Gujarat. He founded the cult after his name in the first quarter of the second century A. D.[34] The records of subsequent history of the cult, its role and contribution to the Indian culture as a whole are scanty. But the sculptural wealth from various parts of India[35] inculding that from Kumaon sufficiently testifies that it prospered unabated for a considerable period.

The Pāśupatas, according to Dr. Bhandarkar, used to set up liṅgam and erect a temple over it to represent a dead apostle. The above observation seems to be correct taking into consideration the many extant liṅga shrines in Orissa as also in Rājasthān and particularly throughout the Kumaon-Garhwal and Dehradun regions.

The region of Kumaon abounds in Lakulīśa sculptures. The reason for it may be that the sect had probably attained enough stronghold over the entire area during the early mediaeval period and hcd later got itself absorbed with the Kānaphaṭās, a class of Sādhus in Kumaon.[36]

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33. Panerjea, *op. cit.*, XLVI.
34. Bhandarkar, D.R., Mathura Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta II,G.E.61, *E.I*, Vol. XXI, p. 7.
35. (Lakulīśa sculptures have been reported from Orissa, South India, Gujarat, Rajaputana and Madhya Pradesh)
 See Panigrahi, K. C., "Sculptural Representations of Lakulīśa and other Pāśupata Teachers" *J. I. H.*, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. III, Dec. 1960, pp. 635–43 and Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
36. Nautiyal, K. P., "Two Lakulīśa Representations from Kumaon" *J. O. R.*, Vol. XIII, No. I., pp. 54–58.

Out of many sculptures, two representative types coming from Jāgeśwar are worthy of mention. One of them is carved on the facade of a small shrine–named after the god–while the other, a loose icon, is kept along with other sculptures inside the Daṇḍeśvar temple.

The first (Fig. 53) depicts the ityphallic figure seated on a lotus seat with a serene countenance, holding a staff (lakuṭa) in the left hand and a mālā (rosary) in the right hand which is ultimately held as abhayahasta. He is endowed with big matted jaṭā, and the long ear-lobes deck him in a graceful manner. On either side in the foreground are seated two figures with matted jaṭā and probably crowns. D. R. Sahni, identifying the figures, contends that those with folded hands are the worshippers or donors, while the two other represnt Brahmā and Viṣṇu.[37] This view seems to be inconvincing. One such sculpture from Someśvar temple at Mukhaliṅgam bears the same numbers of figure, for which J. N. Banerjea has suggested a right identification.[38] He points out that they represent the disciples of Lakulīśa, namely, Kauśika, Mitra, Gārga and Kaurusya. This identi fication fits in well in the Jāgeśwar sculpture also.

The main seated figure of Lakulīśa is flanked on either side in the top corners by the vidyādharas, holding mālās in their hands.

But the other sculpture exhibits a few diverse features. It (Fig. 54) presents Lakulīśa with four hands, seated in the padmāsana posture. The different objects held by him are a citron fruit in the front left hand and a pothī (book) in the back hand. The front right hand is broken, while the back right holds a staff (lakuṭa). He is well decked with a beaded-necklace, kuṇḍalas, keyūras, yajñopavīta, curly hair and a śrīvatsa symbol on the chest. Two attendants flank him with folded hands. Below the seat on the pedastal is a carved bull in recumbent position

These features need explanation. Firstly, the four hands in the icon seem to be a later development. This type of four–handed images also come from Rajputana[39] and Orissa.[40] But the Jāgeśwar icon more than any one else reflects in it a probable fusion of ideals of the Pāśupatas and the Jainas. The ideals of these two religions imbued together in it in such a manner that it has presented the icon with a baffling appearance. Bhandarkar, speaking of the

37. *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1926, pp. 234–36.

38. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 1, p. 481.

39. Agrawala, R. C., "Some Interesting Early Mediaeval Sculptures in the Jhalawar Museum," *J. I. M.*, Vol. XI, 1956, p. 22, Pl. VII, Fig. 2.

40. Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

Lakulīśa images, writes that "the Purāṇas clearly imply that Lakulī was originally a brahmachāri. The very fact that he is scuptured as an ascetic like Buddhas or Tīrthaṅkaras who renounced the world confirms this implication."[41] The above view was propounded in connection with some Lakulīśa sculptures and particularly about one which showed some resemblance to the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara by its srīvatsa symbol on the chest.

This view seems to be correct as far as the question of bare resemblance comes up, but the Jāgeśwar image has something more to say. In it there are many complexities. Firstly, the srīvatsa symbol, which though used in Viṣṇu figures also, is a distinguishing feature of a Jaina figure. The bull carved on the pedastal, though like a Nandi, may probably be taken a Jaina lāñchana or symbol. The vitana or covering umbrella in the sculpture consists of three tiers. This may just stand for a trilinear umbrella of the Jaina image. The artistic decoration behind the head of the figure might represent two fly-whisks (chauris). The stylized representation of these fly-whisks is quite unique, though it may be admitted that in no Jaina image this sort of portrayal is manifested. However, we know from the Jaina canonical literature that the Jinas used to decorate the Aśoka tree with the fly whisks. In the description of the Pūrṇabhadra caitya a reference to this feature tells us that the Jinas had decorated Aśoka tree in this manner.[42] Since the chauri was an auspicious symbol for the Jainas, its illustration like this in the present icon cannot be ruled out. Further, the two attendants may be identified with the Yakṣas, which usually find place in the Tīrthaṅkara images. One of the set elements in the Tīrthaṅkara images is that their respective emblems carved on the pedastol help in the identification of a particular Tīrthaṅkara. The bull as a lānchana has its usual association with Riṣabhanātha and hence, if the present Lakulīśa icon from Jāgeśwar may be taken as having some Jaina features, it will be very appropriate to take the two attendants as Bharata and Bāhuvali, who usually function as attendants of this Tīrthaṅkara.[43]

The Lakulīśa components combined with a few direct Śaivite features are also very conspicuously illustrated in the image. The beaded-necklace, the long ear-lobes, the third eye mark vertically put on the forehead, the Kīrttimukha

41. Bhandarkar, D. R., "An Ekling ji stone Inscription and the origin and History of the Lakulīśa Sect", *J. B. B., R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 154.

42. Tassa asogavarapāyavassauvarim bahave kinnachāmarajjhyaa, See Shah, U. P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, Bom. 1955. p. 67.

43. Pārsva yorbharatabahuvalibhyamupase vitah, see Bhattacharya, B. C., *The Jaina Iconography*, Lahore, 1939, p. 49.

tier, the citron fruit, the lakuṭa, the pothī and the urddhava liṅga suggest the presence of all the Śavite elements and particulary those of the Lakulīśa cult.

The attributes held by the image are also interesting. The lakuṭa is particularly peculiar. It ends in a spear-head with usual bottom, which is now broken. Nothing can be said as to why it has been depicted in this manner. The inclusion of pothī in the hand is also a noteworthy feature. Though this particular object has been held sacred in the Hindu pantheon with Saraswati quite often shown with it, it may be noted that it is also auspicious in the Jaina aṣṭamaṅgalas. Since the Lakulīśa sculpture from the rest of the country[44] invariably includes pothī as an attribute, it is very clear that it has meant to present him as a great teacher or preacher. It may, however, be added that this object came to be an attribute in the Lakulīśa icons only after the early mediaeval period.

The preceding discussion obviously raises a question as to what were the reasons for this sort of compositeness in this image from Jāgeśvar. Any specific answer regarding this is not possible, excepting that the image belongs to that age when some sort of religious adjustment was going on between the rival sects of India. At least this is very well substantiated by the numerous sculptures bearing syncretic features from Kumaon, Rajputana and a few other places of the country.

The above images belong to two different periods The first on the facade belongs to about the first quarter of 9th century A. D.—a date which is assigned to the temple also. The second image with elaborate features belong to c. 11th. century A. D.

Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati

Scholars like Bhandarkar,[45] Getty,[46] and Banerjea[47] are of the view that the cult of Gaṇeśa started in India in about the 5th century A. D., though he was known long before the Gupta period as is proved by the Vedic mantra addressed to the 'one with the curved trunk' (Vakratuṇḍa), a deity with the face of an elephant.[48]

The popularity of the cult reached so high after the Gupta period that in Kumaon alone fifty per cent of the sculptures belong to this god. Besides,

44. It is noticed in the Bhubaneśvar sculpture also. See Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
45. Bhandarkar, R. G., *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 37.
46. Getty, A., *Gaṇeśa* Oxford, 1936, p. 10.
47. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 354.
48. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

there are many temples ascribed to Gaṇeśa. As is also evident from the other parts of India,[49] Gaṇeśa frequently appears after the 7th. century in both the Vaiṣṇava and the Śaiva temples of Kumaon.

Gaṇeśa sculptures of three types occur in Kumaon region; those represented on the doorway lintels, niches and walls, those found as stray icons and those as cult images in the temples.

The earliest representation of Gaṇeśa from the Kumaon region comes from the Chaiti temple at Kāshīpur. The broken pieces of lintels in the above temple depict the god quite free from any sort of elaboration. In almost all the sculptures he has one uniform sitting, namely the ardhaparyaṅka pose. He is flanked by the attendants, some of them holding fly-whisks (chauris), while others a few obliterated objects.

These Gaṇeśa sculptures are full of grace and sobriety. The cloth on the bydy is diaphanous so much so that the lines of the folds of drapet are clearly seen. These characteristics appear to place the sculptures in c. 7th-8th century A. D.

Among stray icons the earliest is the (Fig. 55) Gaṇeśa image enshrined in a small temple at Kāshīpur. It is highly damaged and thus many details are lost. The god is seated in padmāsana. He has four hands holding a paraśu (hatchet) and a gadā (mace) in the back left and right hands respectively. The front hands are put on the lap. The crown appears like a simple round cap. The trunk, instead of bending, comes down straight and becomes thinner at the end.

This image is remarkable for a number of reasons.

Firstly, for the pose. The usual sitting postures of Gaṇeśa figures are mahārājalīlā and ardhaparyaṅka. But, as stated before, this figure is seated in a full padmāsana. This sort of posture is very rarely seen in the Gaṇeśa image. Long back in 1939 Sankalia reported one such image in this sitting posture and remarked : "Till now no sculpture either in stone or in bronze seated in this pose has been published from Indian collections." [50]

Secondly, the trunk does not bend as is seen in the Gaṇeśa figures. This type of trunk is also noticed in the image from Khmer. It cannot be stated as to what was the cause of such a representation.

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49. See Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 140 and Naik, *Archaeology of the Deccan*, p. 727 (Deccan College and Poona University Libraries).

50. Sankalia, H. D., "Six different types of Gaṇeśa figures", *J. I. H.*, Vol. p. 189. (Even from outside according to Getty, only a single figure from Indo-China is in full padmāsana. See Getty, *op. cit.*, P. 2, and Pls. 26–28 respectively.

Thirdly, the rotund belly in the Gaṇeśa images is usually prominent, but here it is not so.

According to iconographical principles, it appears to be somewhat akin to the Unmatta-Uchchhiṣṭa-Gaṇapati as illustrated by Rao.[51] However, the variations in posture, attributes and dress cannot take the latter very near to the Kāshīpur sculpture.

This image also belongs to c. 7th-8th century A. D. because it resembles the earlier referred lintel-sculptures from Kāshīpur at least in matters of drapery.

Dwārahāt sculpture of Śaka 1103 or 1181 A. D.

The second group of Gaṇeśa sculptures belongs to the 12th century A. D. This is clear from Dwārahāt where a well preserved Gaṇeśa image bears an illegible inscription of Śaka 1103 or A. D. 1181. Icons bearing similar features with slight variations have also come from Baijnāth and Joshīmaṭh.

The inscribed image (Fig. 56) has four hands. The front right hand is held in the abhayamudrā, while the back right holds a mace. The front left hand bears a modaka vessel and the back a creeper. The trunk bends to the left. The other inscribed sculpture carries almost all the similar traits excepting that it bears a tiny rat carved on the pedastal.

The diversities between the sculptures of 7-8th and 12th centuries are thus well marked. As stated in the earlier pages, the simplicity of dresses, and the perfection of bodily grace enrich the 7th century sculpture, while the elaboration in decorative details, conspicuous belly and profuseness of ornaments feature the 12th century icon from Kumaon.

Nṛitya-Gaṇapati

Apart from the seated images of god, one comes across icons depicting his dancing posture. In this form the god is usually shown in an ecstatic mood.

The images falling under this category are not many from the region of Kumaon. However, two examples of this nature are at our disposal. The first one is at Joshīmaṭh, while the second at Baijnāth. The latter is highly mutilated.

The Joshimaṭh image (Fig. 57) has eight arms. The upper right hand raised above holds a snake. The middle is in the daṇḍa or gaja-hasta pose.

51. Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, Pl. XII.

The third hand bears a rosary and the fourth a chained ghaṇṭā. The topmost left hand is broken. The second holds a broken tusk. A pot of Laḍḍukas is held by the third hand and the fourth touches the locks of a female figure seated on the fringe. He is endowed with a sarpayajñopavīta, hāra, a short dhotī and a bejewelled crown. Two male and female figures seated on either side play the conch and some other indistinct instrument. Below him is shown his vāhana-mūṣaka in a condition of dynamic vigour. On sides are seen friezes of elephants and horses. On top corners are seated the Vidyādhara couples with a garland each in the hand of male figure.

The Baijnāth image bears almost all the identical features. On the bottom corners, however, alike the first, are seen two figures playing some musical instruments. The left one plays on a ḍamaru in association with a dwarf. The right figure is interesting for its boar face. This aspect of the aforesaid icon touches upon the deep significance of Gaṇapati images. In the Mahābhārata Śiva is sometimes described as Gaṇeśvara. The term may explain his ideological association with Gaṇapati. The Mahāpariṣadas of Rudra as described in the Skandābhiṣekha are many and they bear the "faces of various animals and birds such as tortorise, cock, crow, owl, parrot, falcon, dog, fox, boar, elephant and a lion etc." [52] Hence the present boar-faced figure in the Baijnāth image might be taken as representing the same idea.

These two Nṛitya Gaṇapati images are the unique sculptural representations. Though they bear a few common traits of the other Gaṇapati images, it may be pointed out that they have in certain cases overlooked some of the Śāstrik injunctions. Particularly the image from Joshīmaṭh varies from Gopinath Rao's list of attributes. [53] However, with variations also, these images from Kumaon resemble the Khiching (Orissa)[54] image as also those sculptures at Mathura.[55] The Orissan sculpture, which belongs to the mediaeval period, depicts him in a similar way dancing with vigour. This eight-armed figure possesses many similar attributes in the hands also and the atibhaṅga pose has a sharp resemblance to the Kumaon icons.

But instead of all these similarities, these icons from Kumaon belong to a slightly later period than the Khiching (Orissa) sculpture. The Joshīmaṭh image probably belongs to c. the 11th century A. D., while the icon from Baijanāth on definite epigraphical evidence may be put to the 13th century

52. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

53. *Ibid.*

54. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, Pl. XV, fig. 2.

55. Agrawala, V. S., *A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, 1951, p. 38.

A. D. The image has an inscription on the pedastal, which though obliterated, belongs palaeographically to the above date.

It appears that with the changing times some new adaptations made these icons quite conspicuous from the earlier sculptures. The examples are supported by the presence of at least the boar-faced figure and the musician in the Joshīmaṭh icon.

Kārttikeya

The images of Kārttikeya are noticed throughout the region of Kumaon in abundance. However, most of them are broken. But the extant sculptures possess some striking features worthy of notice.

The followers of this cult appeared to have been many in the ancient times. The antiquity of the worship of this god goes back to the Yaudheyas, who represented the deity on their coins. Since he was a war god, his worship was done probably more than any other god by the tribal people of Kumaon, who were given to fighting as their profession.

Like the Gaṇapati representation, Kārttikeya figures are met with in Kumaon either associated with Śiva panels or independently on the lintels. Besides, some stray icons are noticed at Baijnāth, Lākhāmaṇḍal (Dehradun District) and some other places.

The images from Baijnāth and Lākhāmaṇḍal are particularly interesting. The Baijnāth image bears the usual traits of Kārttikeya, but the Lākhāmaṇḍal images carry some peculiar features, by which they have become noteworthy.

The Baijnāth image is seated on its mount, the peacock. He has four arms and holds in them the śakti, khaḍga and kheṭaka. By the front left hand he offers probably a sweet ball to the peacock, which is shown ready to catch hold of it. The hair of the god is seen flowing downwards. He is decked with a mālā, kaṅkaṇas and keyūras. An ayāgapaṭa is seen around the knee. On top corners are sculptured the flying gandharvas with mālās in the hands.

But the more interesting sculptures are those from Lākhāmaṇḍal. Out of many two attract special attention. As stated above, they carry some curious features. The first, besides the peacock vāhana in the centre, is associated with two more peacocks, one at each end peeping towards the god. The second image is four-armed and six headed "arranged in a double row

of three each."[56] The first image with three peacocks is new so far as the extant Kārttikeya images are concerned. The six-headed image is, however, in accordance with the śāstrik rules which clearly indicate that he should have six faces.[57] We cannot say anything about the occurrence of such type of images from the north. There are, however, some in the south and Rao speaks of the six-headed deity while describing the Subrahmaṇya from that region.[58] About his hands, there is no set rule and they may be from four to twelve.

As already stated, the Kārttikeya worship might have been quite popular in the Kumaon region. The worship of other Śaiva gods and goddesses has remained quite static, but the worship of this god has become scarce as there is no temple in Kumaon at present ascribed independently to this god.

The cult of Subrahmaṇya or Kārttikeya has been very popular throughout the South and especially in the Tāmil region. The Lākhāmaṇḍal images seem to be the direct immitation of the South. It appears that the gradual movement of religious devotees from all parts of India including South might have caused transformation in the ideals of this hilly region.

The Baijnāth image belongs to c. 12th century A. D. on the basis of similarity of features of some of the inscribed sculptures at this place. Since the Lākhāmaṇḍal image carries almost all the same characteristics it has also been placed contemporary with it.

Viṣṇu

Next to Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism was popular in Kumaon. The rulers of Kumaon followed catholicity in their outlook and accepted the tenets of Vaiṣṇavism with an unbiased mind.

The antiquity of this faith in this region may go to the beginning of the Christian era, though the first sculpture of god Viṣṇu appears to belong to the Gupta period.

Almost all the types of Viṣṇu icons, i.e. Sthānaka (standing) āsana (seated) and śayana (recumbant) are noticed in Kumaon. Nevertheless, the sculptures depicting the sthānaka (standing) variety of Viṣṇu are many.

Two sthānakamūrtis of Viṣṇu coming from this region are the best. They come from Ṭhākurdwārā (Moradabad) and Dewalgarh (Garhwāl) respectively. The former place once formed part of the Kumaon teritory.

56. Vats and Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

57. Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Appendix, B, pp. 220–21.

58. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 424.

The image (fig. 58) coming from Ṭhākurdwārā, standing on lotus seat, holds various attributes in four hands. The front right hand is in the varada pose, while the back right holds a gadā. The front left hand holds śaṅkha, while the back a chakra.

In the fringes are seen two figures, probably that of Śrī and Bhūdevī. On the right a dwarf figure probably representing Garuḍa stands in adoration. On top corners are seen in a conventional way two flying vidyādharas with mālās in hands. Excepting a few similar attributes, the latter image from Dewalgarh (fig. 59) bears many dissimilarities in its details. Flanking the god are many male and female figures in adoration. The image is highly obliterated and as such it is difficult to identify the associated figures. On the top left corner is carved a figure in the yogāsana posture. This may probably be taken as the Yoganārāyaṇa aspect of god, which is quite popular in the art of Kumaon. There are several icons depicting this aspect with due emphasis on his placid attitude.

Both the images are well decorated with kirīṭa-mukuṭa, ratna-kuṇḍala, hāra, keyūras, vanamālā and yojñopavīta. In the former icon a waist girdle and a uttarīya (upper garment) adorn the god.

These two images appear before us with variations. It is obviously so since both of them belong to two different periods. The Ṭhākurdwārā image portrays comparatively earlier elements. Its simplicity is apparent and the delineation of bodily grace, the treatment of drapery and several other similar traits designate it as a replica of the late Gupta art. In matter of resemblance this icon goes very near to an image illustrated by Ganguli.[59] Since its features portray sixth century characteristics, the Ṭhākurdwārā image can also be placed contemporary with it.

The Dewalgarh image, however, carries different features. In it the emphasis seems to have been laid more on the outwardly appearance, for the icon is heavily adorned with varied types of ornaments. Thus the bare part of the body is not easily visible. Another noteworthy development in it is that the halo around the head has totally thinned down. The halo in the icons of gods has passed through different stages in the art of India. The earlier appears to have been very plain, roundish and broad. In the late mediaeval period its importance gradually diminishes and finally we see some late images even without this. The icon from Dewalgarh has a very thin halo round the head. It appears that the thinning down of it was the first stage and a precursor to its disappearance from the later images. Since

59. Ganguli, O. C., *Rupam*, Nos. 35–36, July–Oct. 1928, p. 38, fig. B.

this stage might have set in about the beginning of 11th century A. D., the Dewalgarh image may also belong to the same period.

The Badarī group

Kedār is auspicious to the Śaiva pilgrims, so is Badarī to the Vaiṣṇavas. 'It claims the name of 'paramasthāna', a supreme place of pilgrimage for the Vaiṣṇava sects'. [60] Badarīnāth is a favourite name for Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu. Besides the famous temple of Badarīnāth, there are four other temples in connection with this god, which together make up the Pañcha-Badarī in this region on the line of the Śaiva Pañcha-Kedāra. The significance and the history of the origin of these Pañcha-Badarīs is a matter of speculation. It can only be said that these five Badarīs, i.e. Badarīnāth, Yoga-Badarī, Dhyāna-Badarī, Vṛddha-Badarī and Ādi-Badarī together complete the circle of pilgrimage prescibed for all the devout Hindus, especially for the Vaiṣṇavas. However, the pilgrimage to all these five Badarīs has become quite scarce at present. It is because that the parent Badarīnāth is considered to possess almost all the virtues and so the fruits of the pilgrimage can be achieved by the pilgrimage of this holy place alone.

The names themselves signify that the god is worshipped in these places in his various aspects. Thus the name Yoga-Badarī personifies the god's Yoga aspect and Dhyāna-Badarī the meditative. The remaining two names relate a different story. The name Vṛddha-Badarī carries the meaning of the god's being old, indicative probably of his retiring period and free from all the worldly oblations. The name Ādi-Badarī signifies that the birth of the god and the beginning of holy pilgrimage took place at this place. One view has currently a stronghold in Garhwal region that the present Badarīnāth is not the original seat of god's worship, but it is the Ādi-Badarī, where the worship was started first and finally abandoned due to some unknown reasons The historicity of this belief cannot be corroborated by any documentary proof.

The places where all these temples are situated have been named exactly after the god's name. The temples at various places possess images of Viṣṇu consisting of different compositions. Out of these only two images may be described here as they bear the most representative features.

Viṣṇu image at Ādibadarī

The image popularly known as 'Ādibadarī' is enshrined in a temple at Ādibadarī. The five feet high image stands in abhaṅga posture.

60. Atkinson, *op, cit.*, p. 789.

Having four hands he holds in the back right hand a padma, a gadā in the front right hand, chakra in the back left and śaṅkha in the front left hand. He is endowed with the kirīṭa-mukuṭa, mālās, vaijayantī and ratna-kuṇḍalas. The decorated stele around the image presents a baffling picture. The standing figure in the left appears to be like that of Śiva with his trident, while the right resembles his viṇādhāra aspect. The other figures with them look like animals. The figure on the right corner is again interesting, for it appears to be somewhat akin to the Viṇādhāra aspect of Śiva. But the peculiarity of the image is that Śiva seems to hold his viṇā in a standing posture. A similar type is seen on the facade of the Champāvati temple at Champāwat (Almora District). This figure is also obliterated like the present one and, therefore, nothing definite can be stated about its nature. If it is a Viṇādhāra aspect of Śiva, it is really an interesting sculpture having several components. The right and left compartments of this image are also highly decorative. Many of the jumbled figures in it seems to be the various incarnations of this god. Squatting near the legs of the god are male and female figures, probably representing his two consorts with their attendants. On the top of śrī-chakra are carved the nine planets or Navagrahas, while the adjacent left and right compartments are occupied by couples. The left might represent Śiva with Umā in the āliṅgana pose, while the right represents probably some aspect of Viṣṇu with his consort. It is only a hypothesis since the couples are highly blurred for identification. The topmost end of the image is again occupied by Viṣṇu in his Yoga-nārāyaṇa aspect. Flanking him are two figures on either side.

All the combined features in this icon prove that the images with compositeness were preferred more because of the syncretic outlook. This was an all India feature of the 10th century A. D. and very often we notice later sculptures bearing such traits.

The image can be assigned to the last quarter of 10th century A. D. An inscribed image of Garuḍa from this place belonging to Śaka 900 (978 A. D.) bears almost all the similar traits, which suggests that the Ādibadarī image is also contemporary with it.

Badarīnāth

The idol of Badarīnāth, which is most sacred and attracts thousands of Hindus from all parts of the country, has become quite an interesting subject as its origin and the real nature are yet controversial. The black-stone image is in a highly mutilated condition and as such it is difficult to identify the real nature of it. Various scholars have concluded that the image, as it

appears today, is of the Buddha. However, the question still remains a big controversy and it can be rightly remarked that this is not an idle query, but an important issue on which any judgement would deserve serious consideration.

The present image has a history of its own. A generally accepted tradition is that the present image was installed by Śaṅkarāchārya after having taken it out from the nearby Nāradakuṇḍa. Nothing can be said with definiteness about the condition of the temple and the deity enshrined in it during Śaṅkara's advent here. However, it is more than certain that due to some religious catastrophe the sculptural wealth of Badarīnāth had to suffer a serious loss. It appears that almost all the sculptural wealth was destroyed and thrown in the river Alakanandā which flows nearby. This appears to have been the only cause for the disappearance of all the old images from Badarīnāth. With such state of affairs at this holy place, Śaṅkara might have been pained and so installed the icon for reviving the waning Hinduism once again.

As noted before, any definite conclusion about the real nature of the present image cannot be reached as it is badly disfigured. Annointed with sandlewood paste, the image conceals all its features. Nevertheless, an assumption may be made that the image is in padmāsana. The two hands, which are partly broken, present a baffling picture. It appears as if one of the hands is in bhūmisparśa-mudrā. Other appears to have been put on the lap.

If the above assumption regarding this image finds some recognition, there cannot be any hesitation in attributing it to the Buddha, as suggested by some people. One former Rāwal of Badarīnāth, who was free from all the prejudices and was entitled to touch the image, claimed that the present image in the hind part of the head still depicts the hair-style, which has a very close resemblance to the Buddha image from the other parts of India. In addition to it, it is further contended that a thin line on the upper part of the chest has a sharp resemblance to the Yajñopavīta of the usual Buddha images.[61]

Before arriving at any conclusion, it may be pointed out that Badarīnāth has been receiving tributes in kind from the Tholing Muṭh, in Tibet (about 40 miles from here), since quite an unknown past. The latter place belongs to the Buddhist faith. The relationship between a Hindu pilgrim centre and a Buddhist monastery creates suspicion whether both of the places at some stage had some sort of affinity. It is really a vexed problem, for which there cannot be any finality.

61. Sankrityayan, Rahul, *Himālaya Parichaya*, Pt. I, p. 475.

Though Badarīnāth has a considerable antiquity, it is probable that the political upheaval[62] of the 6th century might have brought some change in the religious set-up of this place. However, the efforts of Tibetan ruler did not bear everlasting fruits. But the relations of these two places, which had probably originated during this period remained cordial till our time. The extant remains of Tibetan Buddhism are also noticed at some places of the region of Badarīnāth. Among them are the votive stūpa at Nālā Chaṭṭi in District Garhwal and a few carved figures of the Lāmās with the Tibetan and the Brāhmī inscriptions belonging to about 6th-7th century A. D. At Mānā near Badarīnāth the present author examined these and is convinced that all of the extant remains have a Tibetan affinity. But the condition appeared to have changed gradually after Śaṅkara's visit to this land in about the middle of 9th century A. D. His aim was to re-establish the Vedāntic Hinduism. So he installed the image after having salvaged it from the nearby Nārada-kuṇḍa. Not that much was sufficient, but he even preached together with it the efficacy of pilgrimage to this holy land.

The above discussion does not solve our purpose, as far as the identification of the image of Badarīnāth is concerned. The present image has also been designated as Yoga-Nārāyaṇa Viṣṇu,[63] by some scholars. However, the view does not find much support by a simple reason that the Yoga-Nārāyaṇa images are usually shown differently. The Yoga-Nārāyaṇa Viṣṇu in the Kamalāsana posture invariably depicts a perfect picture of penance. The two hands are put on the lap and the eyes are fully or half closed—the elements which are absent in the Badarīnāth image. The question, therefore, arises as to what can be the nature of the present icon. The image, it seems, was that of the Buddha. Śaṅkara probably salvaged it in a mutilated condition—as it is today—and installed it in the temple taking it as the image of Viṣṇu. But since the image is full of controversies, any finality in the judgement is not possible at the present stage of our knowledge. We can simply say that the present shrine of Badarīnāth, had to pass at least two severe tests of time before Śaṅkara could finally establish the present Viṣṇu worship in the form of Badari-Nārāyaṇa.

Trivikrama

Among all the extant images attributed to Viṣṇu, the fifth incarnation of god known as Trivikrama or Vāmana found a popular place in the Indian plastic art.

62. See history chapter for details.

63. Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 49.

Kumaon has, however, remained an exception, for, only a solitary piece of this type is noticed at Kashipur (Fig. 60).

The image carved out of the Mathura sandstone depicts the god with right leg thrown upwards as if to reach the heavens. The left leg, though broken, indicates that it was firmly planted on the earth. In his four hands he holds various attributes such as the gadā and the chakra in the back right and left hands respectively, while the front right hand is held in the jñāna-mudrā. The fourth hand is broken. The decoration is tastefully done with kirīṭamukuṭa, ratna-kuṇḍalas, hāra, vaijayantī, yajñopavīta, udarabandha, keyūras and kaṅkaṇas.

In the foreground below, there are five figures either seated or standing. One bearded figure in the right corner probably represents Śukrāchārya. The other alternative may be Brahmā, but his presence in such scene is prescribed, in the Vaikhānasāgama,[64] as engaged in the act of washing the upraised foot of Trivikrama. The present image, however, does not portray him in any such act. Śukrāchārya was generally shown with beard and since he is taken as a spiritual preceptor of the Daityas, his introduction in the present image is quite natural. The other figure behind Śukra with kirīṭa-mukuṭa cannot be exactly identified. Several accessory figures are prescribed in the Śāstras for making this sort of composition. One of them is that of Sūrya, which is probably represented in this icon also. The third figure, comparatively dwarf with an umbrella, may be Vāmana. Generally these sculptures i.e., Vāmana and Trivikrama fall under two categories and are, therefore, shown separately. Nevertheless, the instance of two images appearing together in one relief is not lacking. In the Bādāmī composition such characteristics are displayed nicely.[65] Apart from all these, there is yet one male figure seated kneeling behind. He may be Bali himself, while a female at his back in the same posture might represent his queen Vindhyābali. A grinning face with moustache is seen just near the upraised leg of the god. This face, in the words of R. D. Banerji, is probably that of the demon Rāhu,[66] who according to Purāṇas was present with many Daityas on that occasion. The image presents unique and artistic features. The halo has characteristics Gupta traits.

Apart from these features, the image bears in the back probably the name of the sculptor as Rāmadaras in the 4-5th century character of the

64. "Brahmāṇaṁ tatpādaṁ pragṛihya hastābhyaṁ prakshālayanta kṛitvā......" See Shukla, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

65. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIII, fig. 4.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 419.

script. Hence all the above considerations help us to assign it to c. 6th century A. D.

Seṣaśayanamūrti of Viṣṇu

The mythological elaboration of Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa is the Śeṣaśayanamūrti, whose sculptures found a considerable place in the mediaeval plastic art of India.

Comparatively Kumaon region is full of this type of sculptures. Though the stray icons are not many, the theme got its expression on the temples, spring slabs, wells and doorway lintels.

Two stray images of śayana variety of Viṣṇu are noticed at Baijnāth and Dwārahāṭ (Figs. 61 and 62). In both the icons the god is shown resting on the coils of Ādiśeṣa, whose hoods are spread over his head. The slightly raised head of the god is resting on his back left hand. The other hands hold śaṅkha, chakra and gadā as his attributes. He is decked with a hāra, vaijayantī and an apparel (dhoti), which reaches the knees. The left leg rests on the bed, while the right is being massaged by Lakṣmī. There are two figures besides in a militant attitude representing Madhu and Kaiṭabha. A lotus stalk issues out of his navel (padmanābha), on whose blossom is seated the three-faced Brahmā in the kamalāsana pose holding a kamaṇḍalu and an indistinct object. On the pedestal is carved a frieze of fishes and crocodiles thereby indicating the occasion in the ocean.

Both the icons carry a marked similarity. However, in the latter image from Dwārahāṭ the god's body is depicted as having the outline of a bow. This feature is laid down as a necessary characteristic in the Āgamas. [67]

These two sculptures belong to two different periods. The Baijnāth sculpture reflects a comparative fineness in the composition. This sculpture resembles the other inscribed images kept along with it. The palaeographical considerations assign them to the 8th century A. D. The features of the present image coincide the above date and so there cannot be any hitch in placing it as well in the same period. The latter image from Dwārahāṭ, though carrying almost similar details as that of the former image, lacks sublime representation. The degeneration in the presentation of artistic portrayal started in Kumaon after about 11th century A. D. The heaviness, rich ornamentation and decoration without consideration for bodily grace are some of the necessary features in the later images of Kumaon. The present icon under study belongs on such considerations to c. 11th century A. D.

67. Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 110.

Narasiṁha

No good image of this incarnation of Viṣṇu has been noticed, though the particular aspect is widely worshipped throughout Kumaon even during the present times. The temples attributed to this god are also not many. One such temple is, however, noteworthy from Joshīmaṭh with an image of Narasiṁha in a broken condition. Another disfigured image is kept in Talihāṭ (Baijnāth) with an obliterated inscription belonging to some Śaka year. Excepting this, nothing important is gathered from it.

Though there are not many sculptures now pertaining to this aspect of the god, it, however, became a household deity in many parts of Garhwal and Kumaon. The reason for it cannot be accounted for at the present stage of our knowledge. But it seems that the story of the origin of god and his subsequent act of saving Prahlāda fiom the clutches of his demonic father had attained a large scale popularity among the people of this region.

Viṣṇupaṭṭa

Viṣṇu's incarnations are very well depicted on the Viṣṇupaṭṭas, door lintels and the jambs. The Viṣṇupaṭṭas are rightly described as that those "in all probability kept in large numbers in Viṣṇu temples to be sold to poorer devotees or pilgrims at cheap rates"[68] for domestic worship.

Except for one, there are no evidences of the Viṣṇupaṭṭas fiom here. An unique piece of prime importance is still kept in the Satyanārāyaṇa temple at Baijnāth. It bears compartments where the incarnations of Viṣṇu are portrayed beautifully. The first depicts Viṣṇu's sthānakamūrti adorned with kirīṭa-mukuṭa, śaṅkha, chakra and gadā and probably padma. After this follows the representation of a dwarfish figure with a small umbrella, which might definitely be taken as Vāmana. The third panel presents Narasiṁha killing the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu. The remaining worn out compartments probably portray the fish and the boar incarnations of god. With all these figures are associated some male and female attendants at the flanks.

The other figures of the Viṣṇupaṭṭas are shown in a jumbled from. The emphasis seems to have been laid much in the outwardly appearance. The decorations are heavy. These all characteristics thus put this Viṣṇupaṭṭa to c. 13th century A. D.

Virāṭarūpa Viṣṇu

Apart from various types of images, a few interesting icons of Viṣṇu are worthy of notice from Kumaon. Two such images of great merit are

68. Bhattasali N. K., *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca, 1929, p. 89.

witnessed in the Almora District. The first (Fig. 63) comes from Baijnāth, while the other recently reported comes from an unknown place[69] (Fig. 64).

The first icon depicts Viṣṇu with many and varied characteristics. The representation is curious and from its appearance it may be surmised that the adoption of some new element of thought brought it out in an interesting form. The latter in a good preservation goes in accordance with the Śāstrik rules.

Both stand in dvibhaṅga pose, the former being on the upraised palms of earth goddess, who is herself seen emerging out from the coil of the snakes. Two nāgas with folded hands seated below at the fringes possibly represent the Ādi and śeṣa nāgas. The former image has eight arms, while the latter has only four. In the former image the attributes held by the hands are the following: Out of the right hands one is broken. The second and fourth hands hold a mūsala and a khaḍga respectively, while the third is shown in the abhaya-mudrā. In the left hands from the top he bears the kheṭaka, chakra, hala and śaṅkha. The latter image bears in his four hands padma and gadā in the right hands, while the left hands hold a chakra in the lower hand and the upper is missing from the elbow.

Both the images are profusely decorated. The former is adorned with the kirīṭa-mukuṭa, kuṇḍalas, hāra, kaṅkaṇas and yajnopavita. A vanamālā hangs down below the knees. The latter has also the same characteristics, but there are some new elements in its decorative details. For instance there is a śrīvatsa symbol on his chest. Apart from it, the udarabandha is comparatively decorated and it has intricate jewellery in it. The legs are decked with a double round ornament like the present day 'kaḍā' and finally the ankles also bear an ornament, which resembles the modern 'paiñjanī'. The kirīṭa-mukuṭa is highly artistic and on it is carved some indistinct figure. The back of the kirīṭa-mukuṭa is decked with a round prabhāmaṇḍala (halo) made of fine lotus leaves.

Both the images are associated with gods, goddesses and devotees. The former icon is more elaborate. In it the right side bottom is filled up with a female figure holding a chauri (fly-whisk) in her right hand, and in the other hand indistinct object, which rests against the breast. To the right stands a male figure in the kaṭihasta pose having dishevelled hair.

But more than this, there are multi-faces and miniature figures shown around the head of the main deity. The hands of most of them stand in

69. Swami Pranavananda, "Almora's Three Headed Viṣṇu," *I. W.*, Jun. 13-1962, p. 29.

the abhaya-mudrā. On top of the god's head is seen a horse-faced figure and the topmost a pot-bellied figure seated in the kamalāsana pose.

To the right and left corners of the latter image are associated the āyudha-puruṣas. To the right probably stands the gadā puruṣa, while chakra-puruṣa to the left. Behind the gadā-puruṣa stands the garuḍa—the mount of Viṣṇu. In the below foreground are seated two devotees in adoration. To the right and left fringes at the level of god's face are seated two ṛṣis, the right being in the namaskāra-mudrā. Covering the halo from both sides are seated Brahmā and Śiva. Two flying vidyādharas hold the mālās from two sides.

With all these characteristics, it now remains to ascertain the real nature of these images.

The former icon, as it appears, is a virāṭarūpa or viśvarūpa form of Viṣṇu, while the other may be designated as the Vaikuṇṭha form. Images of this type have been reported from Īdar (Gujarat),[70] Kanauj (Uttar Pradesh)[71] and Aligarh[72] in the same province. The former icon strikingly resembles the Kanauj image. After a careful study of both of the icons, it is gathered that both of them, though coming from two different geographical regions, belong to one and the same school of thought. But the mode of presentation in both of the icons differs markedly. The Kanauj image portrays very clearly the principal avatāras emerging out of the head of god. The Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa[73] description tallies well with the present image from Kanauj. With four faces and eight hands, the deity may be preferably designated as Vaikuṇṭha. But the combination of other figures around the head makes it more elaborate and, therefore, the name viśvarūpa or virāṭarūpa would be more correct in this case. Sivaramamurti while describing the iconography of the present image, says that it contains the Ekādaśarudras and Dvādaśādityas on the proper left and right of god's head. The Baijnāth image, however, differs from the present characteristics. Though the figures on the left side of head raise their hands in the similar fashion of Sūrya icons—the idea being obviously to show the ādityas—it cannot be said whether they are as many as twelve, The figures indicating the eleven rudras do not hold trident, as is seen in the Kanauj image. The reason for such a disparity in this icon cannot be explained. The figures along with the main

70. Shah, U. P., "Gupta Sculptures from Idar (Gujarat)" *J. I. M.*, Vol. IX, Pl. XIX, Fig. 37-38.

71. Sivaramamurti, C., *Indian Sculpture*, Bom. 1961, p. 99, Pl. 33.

72. Nagar, M. M., "A Viṣṇu Image from Aligarh", *J. U. P. H.* S., Vol. XVIII, pp. 98-100.

73. Shah, Priyabala. *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, (Gaikwad Oriental Series No. CXXX-III).

image are thirty six in all. In the case of Kanauj image Sivaramamurti has applied the Puruṣasūkta and the Viśvarūpa version of the Bhagvadagītā. The Kumaon sculpture from its appearance, however, carries a different analogy. In this context, therefore, the doctrine of the Pañcharātrins needs to be viewed taking into consideration the descents of the god.

As stated above, the image bears thirty-six figures. The Ahirbudhnya and the Sāttvata Saṁhitās state that the principal manifestations are thirty-nine. The list of these Saṁhitās, however, seems to be exhaustive. But the statement of Varāvaramuni in his commentary on Tattvatraya that "the real number is thirty six",[74] if accepted, would go well with the present image. Nevertheless, as noted before, the "image belongs to the same school of thought, which produced icons at Kanauj and other places of India, no doubt adopting certain interchangeability in the rigid rules of iconography. And therefore, it would not be inappropriate to call it also a virāṭarūpa Viṣṇu."[75]

However, the latter image under study is clearly noticed with two more faces i.e., lion-face (Narasiṁha) to the right and boar-face (Varāha) to the left.[74a] It appears, therefore, that the above icon did follow the iconographical principles strictly.

But the discussion does not end here. We have to take into consideration the other traits in the former image. The main figure of the god carries some other analogy. The god, as it appears, seems to have adopted some of the features of Balarāma They may be briefly mentioned here. The eyes of the figure appear to indicate inebriety. Then out of the eight hands, two possess a ploughshare and a mūsala. The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* stresses that "Baladeva should be shown with a ploughshare in his hand and his eyes should be round and rolling indicating his inebriety; he should wear only one ear-ring and his body should be white like a conch shell moon or a (white) lotus." [76]

The above definition fits in the description of the present image. Apart from the other feature mentioned above, there is an eminent ear-ring in the left ear. The hair also look tied together which is typically a Balarāma feature, but nothing definite can be remarked about this since the kirīṭa-mukuṭa covers the forehead.

74. Schrader, F. Otto, *Introduction to Pancharatras*, p. 44.
74a. The other faces are totally broken.
75. Nautiyal, K. P., "An Interesting Viṣṇu Image from Baijnāth (District Almora)" *B. D. C. R. I.*, Vol. XXII, 1961-62, pp. 70-74.
76. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

The image, apart from these traits, bears many variations. The attributes held by the god are not in conformity with the prescribed order For example, the chakra, instead of being held by the right hand is carried by the middle left hand. But the variation in the icon cannot be taken as to be surprising since the very motive of the icon was to present complex principles of iconography. The Balarāma features, undoubtedly, found place in it, but that only in a wider sense. The image probably focussed on the avatāravāda and had a definite message of its own. Hence the rigidity in the rules was very obviously overlooked.

The image, as already stated, contains a horse-faced figure and a pot-bellied on the top. The former may be identified as Hayagrīva, who occurs in the Saṁhitās[77] and the latter as Brahmā. Besides the aforesaid figures, the upper end of the rim consists of some reclining heads. They are decked with jaṭā-jūṭa and big kuṇḍalas. In the Kanauj image the same discernible figures are characterised by Sivaramamurti as the aṣṭabhairavas or eight Bhairavas. Nevertheless, it is difficult to accept the same identification for the Baijnāth image. Firstly, both of the images carry a marked dissimilarity in the portrayal of the nature of these faces. The Kanauj image illustrates them with varied dispositions, while the Baijnāth icon keeps them only in the saumya propensity. Secondly, the heads in the Baijnāth icon are nine rather than that of eight—the last one partially appearing near the kheṭaka.

The two figures attending on the god may be taken as one of his consorts and the Garuḍa—the mount of Viṣṇu.

As noted, the icon reflects on the manifold ideas of Pañcharātrins. This type of image was produced in the north usually after the early mediaeval period. Prior to the Gupta period, almost all the extant Viṣṇu images are single-faced. It is only during the Gupta period that the multi-headed Viṣṇu image appears for the first time. The reason can be stated that the Pañcharātrins had their stronghold during the Gupta period, and the Gupta rulers seem to have patronised the cult more than any other. This type of image occurs for the first time in Mathura[78] and in the mediaeval period Kashmir was the first to witness the preponderance of this cult. Many Viṣṇu icons of this type belonging to the mediaeval period have been discovered from Kashmir and the other adjoining areas.[79] Besides, images pertaining to his

77. Schrader, F. Otto, *op. cit.*, P. 46.

78. Agrawala, V. S., *op. cit.*, p. 10.

79. Kak, R. C., *Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Section of Sri Pratapa Singh Museum, Srinagar*, p. 50..

Viśvarūpa and Vaikuṇṭha forms have also been reported from Gujarat by Sankalia.[80]

Similar to the other places of India, Kumaon has several sculptures—apart from these two—bearing witness of this trend. In the Baijnāth itself, it may be noted that one more image contains almost all the figures of god's incarnation around the stele of the sculpture. This shows that collective worship of all the manifestations of Viṣṇu had attained relative popularity during the mediaeval period.

Both of the images, under study, belong to two different periods. The former has less elaboration in details of features. Hence on such stylistic considerations, it belongs to c. 9-10 century A. D. The latter with so many new elements may be placed in c. 12th century A. D.

Kāliyamardana (Fig. 65)

Kṛiṣṇa as an incarnation of Viṣṇu is famous for his exploits. His feat beginning from his childhood are well expressed in the sculptures. The religious Indian artist, it seems, took much interest in representing these Kṛiṣṇāyaṇa scenes in the Vaiṣṇava shrines.

Excepting the Kāliyamardana scene in the temples of Champāwat, there are no representations of the incident relating to the life of Kṛiṣṇa. This particular Kāliyamardana scene finds a very popular place since almost all the ceilings in the temples of Champāwat contain it as a decorative device. The scene depicts the tail of the serpant knotted together making it a nice design. Bālakṛiṣṇa is seated in the middle of the serpant Kāliya, Kṛiṣṇa uplifts his left hand as if to strike on the hood of the snake. He is decked with mukuṭa and other ornaments. A flowing cloth is noticed in his body.

This type of representation of the Kṛiṣṇāyaṇa scene is also found in the temples of Gujarāt. Sankalia has illustrated one such relief from Somanāth in Gujarat.[81] The Gujarat and Kumaon scenes bear many identical details. The representation of Bālakṛiṣṇa is also depicted in the Gujarat panels in the same manner as that at Champāwat in the Almora District. The circle of the coil of snake resembles the Somanāth relief. The reason for this sort of similarity is obvious since the Kumaon panels have been immitated from Gujarat.

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80. Sankalia, H. D., "Rare figures of Viṣṇu form Gujarat". *J. U. B.*, Vol. VII, Pt. 4, pp. 1-6.

81. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

The Kāliyamardana sculptures on stylistic considerations seem to belong to 13th-14th century A. D. The temples also belong to the same period and so the date and the features coincide with each other.

Brahmā

As a member of the orthodox Brahmanical triad, Brahmā occupies an important place and is known as the creator in Hindu mythology. His position in the pantheon is, however, inferior to the other principal cult deities like Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Śiva. And thus the icons and temples belonging to this god are quite few in India.

In the Kumaon region, sculptures representing Brahmā are not many. The earliest image of this god is sculptured on the doorway lintel of small shrine at Ratana Deo (Dwārahāt), which is dedicated to this god. He is depicted as seated on a lotus throne and has four arms. The sculpture is fairly worn out and so the details are quite indistinct. However, the lotus seat which is fairly clear, follows the established principle of Bṛhat-Saṁhitā. [82] The associate figure standing to the left may probably represent one of his consorts.

The sculpture is dated to c. 11th century A. D., of which date the temple also belongs.

Apart from the present sculpture, two stray icons of Brahmā come from Champāwat and Baijnāth. The image from Champāwat is placed in one of the outside niches of the Champāwatī Durgā temple, the god in it being thus a pārśvadevatā of the main deity. The other image from the Baijnāth museum (fig. 66) appears more elaborate. In both the icons Brahmā is seated in the ardhaparyaṅka posture with four hands holding different objects. In the Champāwat image it is noticed that Brahmā is holding a kalaśa and a pustaka (?). The other alternative for the pothi may be a śaṅkha in this case. The śaṅkha, however, is a very rare attribute associated with Brahmā. If it really represents a śaṅkha, it undoubtedly, introduces a new element in the iconography of Brahmā. The other image from Baijnāth is depicted holding the usual objects. The back right hand holds a sṛuk, which is quite different from the other sṛuk representation in the Brahmā icons. The lower part looks like a thick round stick. This sṛuk representation may be taken as of some local significance. Besides this, the front right hand is held in the varada pose with an akṣamālā around the palm. The back and front left hands possess a pustaka (manuscript) and a kamaṇḍalu respectively. In both the

82. Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. II, pp. 501-12.

icons the beard has been prominently shown. In the case of latter icon, nevertheless, the beard as well as the moustache are shown in all the three faces, the fourth face being invisible. The details of adornment in the former icon are obliterated. The latter, however, is decked with a jaṭā-mukuṭa, hāra, mālā, udarabandha, yajñopavīta, keyūras and kaṅkaṇas. The dishevelled hair fall at the sides.

These two icons belong to two different periods. The former image, on the basis of the date of the temple on which niche it is placed as pārśva-devatā, may be assigned to the 13th century A. D. The latter image from Baijnāth belongs to a slightly later period. As we have seen, the sculptures in the Baijnāth museum have been assigned to three different periods. This image also belongs to the last phase of this artistic movement, which began in c. 1100 A. D. and lasted upto the 1300 A. D.

Hari-Hara Pitāmaha (Fig. 67)

The Pañcharātra texts and Purāṇas give lists of the incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu. One of them in the lists is Dattātreya[83] or Hari-Hara Pitāmaha, who can be well recognised in some of the mediaeval sculptures of India.

The representation either shows the three members of the orthodox Brahmanical triad, namely, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, placed side by side or it may appear as a four-armed Viṣṇu, whose Brahmā and Śiva aspects are indicated by their respective mounts carved on the pedastal by the side of Garuḍa, the mount of Viṣṇu. The standing as well as seated types of images have been reported from different parts of India.

At Jāgeśvar, a slab containing the former variety, i.e. Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha relief is noticed along with other sculptures stored now in a godown. The sculpture shows three members of the orthodox Brāhmanical triad standing side by side with their characteristic features. The four-faced Brahmā—one of the faces invisible in the back side—carries the following objects: an akṣamālā in the front right hand, sruk (?) or a flower bud in the back right hand. The front left hand holds a kamaṇḍalu, while the back probably carries a sruva (?) (sacrificial ladle). Adorned with jaṭā-jūṭa, hāra, kaṅkaṇas, yajñopavīta and a kaṭisūtra, he is being attended by two devotees kneeling in adoration. Śiva stands in the middle holding the characteristic emblems in his four hands. Thus he holds a triśūla in the back right

83. "Dattātreya concept of the god refers indirectly to a conscious attempt of harmonising the different cults." See Banerjea, J. N., 'Iconography', *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 362, f. n. 125.

hand, akṣamālā in the front right, a hurling cobra in the back left hand is shown in the kaṭihasta pose. He is decked with the braided jaṭā-mukuṭa, hāra, kuṇḍalas, keyūras, kaṅkaṇas and a udarabandha. A yogapaṭṭa (cloth band) passes around the thighs. To the right is shown a couchant bull and to the left Gaṇeśa in the seated pose. Viṣṇu's figure is depicted with gadā in the back right hand and akṣamālā in the front left. He is endowed with a kirīṭa-mukuṭa (comparatively of a small size and quite different from the usual type), hāra, kuṇḍalas, kaṅkaṇas, keyūras, vana-mālā, yajñopavīta and a udarabandha. A yogapaṭṭa (cloth band) passes around the thighs in the similar manner as that of the Śiva figure. To his right stands a female figure, which may represent his consort Lakṣmī, while to the left is seen in the kaṭihasta pose another figure, which is probably Garuḍa—the mount of god.

Rao has illustrated two sculptures of this type from Halebidu and Ajmer.[84] These sculptures carry many similar traits as we see in the Jāgeśwar icon. However, some minor variations are noticed. The attributes of the image from Jāgeśvar differ from those of the two. The draperies and ornaments are also changed. This is quite obvious since all of them belong to three different parts of India.

The sculptures from Halebidu and Ajmer belong to the early mediaeval period. The Jāgeśvar sculpture, however, belongs to c. 10th century A. D. This is testified by two facts; one that almost all the temples of Jāgeśvar belong to the period between the 9th and 11th century A. D., while other is that the present icon also resembles on the other inscribed images belonging to this period.

Goddesses

(a) *Śaiva Goddesses*

The Śakti of Śiva has been equally venerated from the most ancient times. She is designated by various names as Umā, Gaurī, Pāravatī, etc. The worship of the female principle as a whole has a far reaching antiquity. It has been suggested that there was the cult of Mother Goddess in the Indus valley civilisation.

In the early Vedic period, however, the female deities descended to the lower position and in the Purāṇas and epics the Śakti cult got pre-eminence.

The sculptural representation of Pāravatī is shown in two ways. She is either depicted with Śiva as his consort or independently. The former

84. Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, Pls. LXXII and LXXIV.

mode of representation is fairly common. However, the latter also found sufficient place in sculptures.

A large number of sculptures represented in either ways are noticed in Kumaon. Nevertheless, the independent icons of goddess are found relatively more.

A few specimens are really noteworthy from this region. Firstly the Pāravatī sculpture from Maikhaṇḍā (Fig. 68) in District Garhwāl portrays a superb workmanship. Another best representation comes from Baijnāth. There are a few more images from other places of Kumaon bearing almost the same features.

The Maikhaṇḍā image has a remarkable sublimity. Though completely broken, it conveys yet the real message. The goddess is represented here in the añjalihasta pose, having a graceful decoration with hāra, mālā and kuṇḍalas. The coiffure is well depicted. The majestic expression is so clearly evident that Rahul Sankrityayan is led to put it in comparison with any of the Gupta sculptures of this type. [85]

Yet another (Fig 69) image of Pāravatī is enshrined at Baijnāth, Almora District. The 4 ft. 6 inches high image of goddess stands in samapādasthānaka pose with four hands holding different objects in each of them. The front right hand is held in the varada pose, while the back right hand is having a hooked staff (triśikhā). The front left hand holds a kamaṇḍalu, while in the back left is held a lotus. She is gracefully decorated with a karaṇḍa-mukuṭa, kuṇḍalas, mālās, hāras, keyūras (armlets having kīrttimukha design), kaṅkaṇas, a decorated kaṭisūtra, a fully decorated garment reaching the feet with two decorated chains hanging on the thighs and the paiñjanīs on the ankles. A kīrttimukha symbol adorns the mukuṭa. The coiffure is finely exhibited and the locks are shown flowing on theshoulders. A mālā, containing a maṇi or ruby at the end, is worn by her.

On top of the lotus and hooked staff are depicted, according to the śāstrik rules, the two gods, namely, Gaṇeśa and Śiva seated; Śiva being on his mount Nandī. Rao, while describing Pāravatī, states that in her hands there should be an image of Śiva and an image of the Dēvagaṇas (Gaṇeśa). [86] In conformity with the above rules several images of Pārvatī, are reported from allover the country. Evidence is in hand from Bengal, wherefrom the Pārvatī image is represented usually with Śivaliṅga in hand. [87] The same

85. Sankrityayan, Rahul, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

86. Rao, *op. cit.* Vol. I, pt. II, p. 360.

87. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 502.

characteristic feature is noticed in one of the Pārvatī sculptures from Ellora. In the back hands of the goddess are held the image of Gaṇeśa and a Śivaliṅga respectively.[88] The sculptures bearing such traits belong to the mediaeval period and may roughly be one or two centuries earlier than the present image from Baijnāth. However, the feature in this image differs from the other sculptures of this type. In place of Śivaliṅga, the actual image of Śiva is depicted in the Baijnāth icon. The reason for variation cannot be pointed out. But it may be surmised that in the later sculptures actual Śiva figures came to occupy the position of the Śivaliṅgas.

The iconography of these figures i.e. Śiva and Gaṇeśa is worthy of description. Gaṇeśa is shown seated in the ardhaparyaṅaka pose holding a gadā, mālā, paraśu and a flower. A sarpa-yajñopavīta is worn by him. On the corresponding side Śiva is shown seated on his mount Nandī holding a nīlotpala flower in the back right hand, triśula and a kamaṇḍalu in the back and front left hands respectively. The front right hand is held in the jñāna-mudrā. He is gracefully decorated with jaṭā-mukuṭa, mālā and keyūras. A yogapaṭṭa is seen tied around his right leg. Apart from it, two more figures are depicted on the middle of the stele. The right side figure with beard seems to represent Brahmā, while the left one may stand for Viṣṇu.

The image is fully equipped with other details. Flanking the goddess are noticed male and female figures with chauris (fly-whisks). Some of them are in adoration, while the rest are seen in a great tension, as if in the dancing posture. There are the usual flying Vidyādharas with mālās on top section of the thickly decorated elliptical prabhāvalī.

This image, as far as the anatomical delineation and expression are concerned, is one of the best specimen of mediaeval sculptures of Kumaon. The beauty is discernible in the treatment of eye-brows and the delicate lively warmth of the lips. Unfortunately the nose has suffered badly. But with all the above characteristics, the image may roughly be assigned to c. 9th century A. D.

An image of this type is illustrated by R. D. Banerji. Coming from Patharghat, Dacca city,[89] the image is known by the name of Chaṇḍī because of the association of iguana, which is invariably carved on the pedastal of this type of image. This aforesaid Chaṇḍī image bears a hooked staff (triśikhā), flower, kamaṇḍalu, etc. like the Baijnāth image. Many other

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88. Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, Pl. CVIII, Fig. I.

89. Banerji, R. D., *op. cit.*, Pl. VI, Fig. d.

details tally with each other. But the Dacca image is more elegant. This is quite obvious since it belongs to the early mediaeval period.

A few more Pārvatī images, though broken, present some noteworthy features. A broken image still lying in the fields of Dhikuli (Nainital District) is of some interest in this connection. A hooked staff and a flower are gracefully held by the goddess. She is adorned with a mālā, hāra and kuṇḍala. A circular halo behind the head decks the goddess. Yet another icon from the Kedāreśwar shrine at Dwārahāt is of significance. Occupying the seat on the back of Nandī, she holds in her eight arms a conch, gadā, kamaṇḍalu, dhanuṣa (?) and Agni. The rest of the hands are broken and some of the objects are quite indistinct. This eight armed image is unique. Among the goddesses Yogeśwarī is prescribed with ten arms.[90] But this type of eight armed goddess is nowhere described in the iconographical texts.

Apart from the above image of Pārvatī, an interesting form of goddess from Lākhāmaṇḍal is worthy of description. The image depicts the goddess in the act of performing penance. She stands in the midst of four flames of burning fire. Her right foot is placed on a lion and the left on the back of a bull. She holds a book in her front left hand. An attendant stands in each side of the image. She wears a simple dress.

On account of the elaborate iconographical features in them, the two Pārvatī icons from Dhikuli and Dwārahāt belong to about 11-12th century A. D. But the image from Lākhāmaṇḍal because of its comparative simplicity belongs to c. 8–9th century A. D.

Durgā

The cult of Durgā was considerably popular in the ancient past. The Epics and other literature testify to the history of the cult. The mother concept of Devī has been well emphasised in the Purāṇic accounts. Her nature has been characterised as "the great saviour who being prayed to, delivers men from such terrors as captivity, wilderness, drowning, harassment by robbers, great forests, etc."[91]

The Āgamas contain the iconographic descriptions of various forms of goddess. However, the iconography of a few image types of the goddess is essential, for barring a few, not all of them are extant for worship. In the standard books on iconography emphasis has been laid mainly on her "Mahiṣāsurmardinī and Mātṛikā aspects and a few other allied forms."[92]

90. Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 364.

91. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 492.

92. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 496.

The icons of Durgā are either represented accompanying her lion mount or actually riding it. Sculptures illustrating these forms have been reported from all over the country.

Several sculptures of Durgā are noticed in the region of Kumaon. Almost all the shrines contain these sculptures in abundance. Apart from the sculptures, there are several temples attributed to goddess Durgā also.

A few standing and seated images of Durgā are noticed at many places of Kumaon and Garwal. The standing image of Durgā from Baijnāth museum is (Fig. 70) worthy of description. The four-handed goddess holds different objects in her hands. In the back left hand is held a lotus bud, while the front left hand is extended in the abhayamudrā with an akṣamāla in it. The front right hand holds probably a vase and the back seems to have held a bannana or creeper of the grapes (?). She is lavishly decked with ornaments and fully decorated garments. The hair tied with beaded—mālā flow downwards. Behind the head is a halo of lotus leaves.

Two siṁha-vāhinī images (Fig. 71 and 72) from Jāgeśwar (Almora) and Kālimaṭh (Garhwal) are again worthy of notice. Though broken, both of them present the characteristic features of this type of images. The Jāgeśwar image has ten arms. Three back right hands are broken. The other two hold some indistinct objects. By her left hands she holds such objects as kheṭaka, ghaṇṭā, dhanuṣa, kamaṇḍalu and the fifth hand is placed on the head of a female figure seated below. Another female figure stands at the other corner. The Kālīmaṭh image, though differing in representation of hands, presents almost the similar traits. Instead of ten arms she has only four, in which she carries indistinct objects. Besides these two sculptures, many such icons are reported from Lākhāmaṇḍal and Joshīmaṭh also.

These two sculptures on general stylistic considerations—such as the profuseness of ornament and dresses and the multiplicity of hands etc.—belong to c. 11–12th century A. D.

Mahiṣāsuramardinī

This form of Durgā is the most important and earliest according to literary texts. Especially in the *Devimahātmya,* this aspect of Durgā has been described in greater details. [93]

Images pertaining to this aspect have been reported from all over India. Almost all the sculptures show the goddess in a fierce mood and in the action of killing the demon Mahiṣāsura. But from the Gupta period onwards the

93. Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 337.

image passed through a gradual development attaining several detailed features by the mediaeval period.

In Kumaon the Mahiṣāsuramardinī aspect seems to have gained comparatively a popular ground than that of any other from of the goddess. Several temples were dedicated to the goddess and legends even in the present times are woven round so nicely by the local etymologists that they derive the names of many places in Kumaon from that of Mahiṣāsuramardinī. For example, Maikhaṇḍā in Garhwal is supposed to have been derived out of this name.

The sculptures of this form are seen with several variations. Some of the early reliefs from Bhiṭā depict her with two arms engaged in combat with the Demon Buffalo.[94] The earliest image coming from the hilly region is that from Chamba. In this brass image (8th century A. D.) the Dēvī is shown uplifting the hind part of the Demon in the shape of a buffalo[95] by holding its tail with her front left hand, and piercing its neck with triśūla by her front right hand. She tramples the buffalo demon by her right leg. The rest of the hands hold a sword and a bell.[96] In an early sculpture from the facade of the Chandragupta (II) cave at Udayagiri (Bhilsa, Madhya Pradesh), the Devī is shown with as many as twelve arms. In some other images like that in the panels from Mahābalipuram,[97] Ellora,[98] Aihole[99] and Sūnak[100] in Gujarat, the Devī is presented with eight hands. Therefore, it cannot be said that there was any such rigid rule any time in respect of the number of hands.

Almost all the Kumaon sculptures of Devī are noticed with four to twelve arms. The best representative icons are reported from Baijnāth. Barring a few dissimilarities, they carry many identical features.

The first bearing outstanding features is the Mahiṣāsuramardinī sculpture (Fig. 73) enshrined in the Chakravarteśwara temple at Baijnāth. The eight armed Devī bears in the right hands khaḍga, chakra, saktyāyudha and a

94. *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1911-12, p. 86, Pl. XXXI.

95. In the later images, however, the demon buffalo is usually depicted as a real human body. emerging out to combat with the goddess According to Śivaramamurti "the act of cutting of heads of the buffalo is a more popular theme with the northern sculptor, and this is found depicted all over U. P., Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and the Chalukyan area." This applies to Kumaon icons also. See Śivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

96. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 498.

97. Rao, *op. cit.*. Vol. I, Pt. II, Pl. CIV.

98. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLI, Fig. 2.

99. *Ibid.*, pl, XLIII, Fig. 3.

100. Sankalia, *op. cit.* p. 146, Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 61.

triśūla which pierces the back of the demon Mahiṣāsura with its three pronged-edge. Of the four left hands, three carry the kheṭaka, ghaṇṭā, dhanuṣa and the fourth one is in the action of seizing the neck of the Demon. The Demon rises from a decapitated buffalo whose head is lying severed. He holds a sword and is ready to strike. The lion—mount of the goddess—is shown pouncing upon the hind part of the buffalo Demon.

Another image (Fig. 74) from Baijnāth, though damaged highly, presents also interesting characteristics. It has twelve arms. In the atibhaṅga pose, she holds different objects in her hands. In the top left and right hands is held a discus. The front right hand holds a severed head. With the front left she seizes the locks of the Demon. The Devī's fight in this image is depicted realistically. The sculpture illustrates Devī riding her lion mount vigorously attacking Mahiṣāsura riding a buffalo; other demon having fallen below with a sword in his hand. An attendant flanks the goddess at either side. This image follows to some extant the iconographical features of the Ellora relief, where she is depicted in this changed mode of fighting.[101] Though belonging to an earlier period than the Baijnāth image, there appears a resemblance to both of them. The observation of Banerjea that some early mediaeval sculptures of India began to change the mode of depicting the Devī's fight with the Demon[102] seems to be quite appropriate after studying these extant sculptures.

The former image from Baijnāth is gracefully decorated with kuṇḍalas, mālā, hāra, kaṭisūtra, paiñjanī etc. The hair appear bejewelled. The intensity of fight is well demonstrated. The facial expression during the occasion is appropriately portrayed. In short the sculpture bears many late Gupta features. Hence it may be roughly assigned to about the second half of 8th century A. D.

The latter image, however, delineates some later elements. The goddess is profusely ornamented. A long mālā flows from her neck to the thighs. Though the expression of rage is well depicted and the treatment of entire subject beautifully dealt with, the elaboration and addition to the features place it in c. 12th century A. D.

Sapta-mātṛikās (Figs. 75 and 76)

The description of the Mātṛikās is found in various literary texts. Their number has, however, differed in different literary evidences. Thus, in some

101. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLI, Fig. 2.

102. *Ibid.*, p. 499.

they are known as sixteen, while in the others as eight. But the usually accepted list supported by iconographic data consists of Brahmāṇī, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, and Chāmuṇḍā, though there are some variants. [103]

These Mātṛikās, as śaktis of individual gods are presented in different ways. Sometimes they are carved on stone with Gaṇeśa and Vīrabhadra on either side. At times only two or three are represented. Instances are not lacking when only the Chāmuṇḍā is depicted. All the mothers are usually sculptured with mounts of the gods corresponding to their names.

Representing the Mātṛikā groups are many sculptures in Kumaon. There are variations in them and they are shown either in the group of seven, three, two or only one. The variation in features helps in formulating a chronological sequence. Some of the selective types come from Baijnāth, Jāgeśwar and Lākhāmaṇḍal.

The Lākhāmaṇḍal relief consists of sapta-mātṛikās including the Gaṇapati and Vīrabhadra flanking on either side. The goddesses are represented from left to right as Brahmāṇī on a full bloomed lotus, Māheśvarī on bull, Vaiṣṇavī on Garuḍa, who has a human face and two outspread wings, Kaumārī on peacock, Vārāhī on a prostrate human figure, Indrāṇī holding vajra and seated on elephant and Chāmuṇḍā on a 'preta' or corpse.

The Baijnāth slab of four goddesses presents Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī and Chāmuṇḍā seated in the ardhaparyaṅka posture. The respective mounts are carved beneath the seats. The goddess Vaiṣṇavī has two hands; one being held in the varada pose, while the other bears a chakra. The boar-faced Vārāhī holds a fish by her right hand, which she is shown eating. [104] The other hand rests on the thigh. Chāmuṇḍā alone has four hands in which she carries a pāśa, māṁsakhaṇḍa (loath of the flesh), the front left rests on the thigh, while the back is broken.

Another relief consisting of only two goddesses Kaumārī and Vaiṣṇavī also comes from Baijnāth. Kaumārī is seated on a peacock, while Vaiṣṇavī on Garuḍa. Kaumārī offers a sweet ball to her mount. Vaiṣṇavī has four

103. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 505.

104. Another such image originally coming from Rajasthan is now preserved in the British Museum at London. But more than this one more image of Vārāhī, in which "We notice the blending of Varāha (boar) face as subsidiary one and attached to the main human face", with fish as one of her weapons is reported from Jāgeśwar in Almora. See Agrawala, R. C., "Fish and Vārāhī in Ancient Indian Sculpture." *The Orissa Historical Researhc Journal*, Vol. XII, No. I, 1964, p. 2; Pl. I.

hands in which she holds a chakra and a banner with the Garuḍa emblem in both the back left and right hands respectively, while the front right hand is held in the varada pose and the front left is broken.

Yet another six-Mātṛikā panel of the above type comes to us from the same place. It, however, depicts Brahmāṇī with three faces seated on a haṃsa. Māheśvarī is seated on Nandī and holds a ḍamaru in one of her extant hands.

Besides these groups, independent icons of Chāmuṇḍā are met with abundantly. One such image of special interest is seen at Jāgeśwar. The goddess (Fig. 77) appears to be in the dancing vigour trampling under her feet a corpse. Having four hands she holds a khaḍga and a kapāla by her back and front right hands. The front left hand is broken, while the back left reaches the mouth as if she is cutting the nail of the little finger. The purpose is, however, something else. Whatever it is, it adds more to the horrible nature of the goddess.

As noted above, the groups of Mātṛikā images carry some variations. They can be placed to different periods on the basis of their features and other noteworthy traits. The Lākhāmaṇḍal panel depicts Vaiṣṇavī on Garuḍa. This goddess on the same mount is shown from Baijnāth as well. But the Garuḍa in the latter case does not represent its outspread wings like the former. There is again a difference between the two peacocks from Lākhāmaṇḍal and Baijnāth—thus representing Kaumārī differently. The mode of depicting Brahmāṇī image did not seem to have received new ideas in features in the beginning. The Lākhāmaṇḍal image depicts her seated on a lotus seat instead of the haṁsa. Many other sculptures from Baijnāth show her seated on a full bloomed lotus seat. However, a solitary six-Mātṛikā relief presents her with four heads, the back head being invisible. She rides a haṁsa. This six-headed Brahmāṇī figure carries significant change. Together with it, Māheśvarī is also exhibited on a Nandī with a ḍamaru. It seems that all such developments in the mode of presentation came to be adopted gradually in all these sculptures. The Chāmuṇḍā seems to have also passed through a gradual process of development. In the Lākhāmaṇḍal panel she is simply seated on a corpse. The Baijnāth slab of four goddesses presents her as seated in the ardhaparyaṅka posture with a corpse carved just near her feet. The other details are quite conspicuous. The figure from Lākhāmaṇḍal is two-handed, while the latter has four hands with various objects held in them. The last stage of development is gleaned in the lone figure of Chāmuṇḍā from Jāgeśwar. The complete theme is dealt with quite differently. The goddess is shown in a standing posture with a dancing vigour reflecting

horror in her very nature. She is shown trampling a corpse with completely an emaciated body and a muṇḍamālā around her neck. The tied hair on top exhibit a digit on the forehead. Besides, a jackal is seen near her feet—a feature which is sometimes found in the Chāmuṇḍā image from Bengal.[105]

The group of the Sapta-Mātṛikās are thus chronologically divided. The first relief from Lākhāmaṇḍal on its stylistic considerations belongs to c. 8th century A. D. The other group belonging to about 10th century A D. consists of four and two Mātṛikā panels, which have already been discussed. The six-Mātṛikā slab along with the independent icon of Chāmuṇḍā represent the 12th century characteristics.

Gaja-Lakṣmī

It is a strange phenomenon in Kumaon art that the goddesses with Vaiṣṇava affiliation are very rarely seen. The actual instances of the occurance of Saraswatī, Lakṣmī, Śrī and other goddesses are not many. Even a large number of Viṣṇu icons are depicted without the consort of god. This is an important characteristic of the sculptures in Kumaon.

However, a few Vaiṣṇava images pertaining to goddesses come from Kumaon. The first in this category is the Gaja-lakṣmī, which is noticed at least at two places. The first one depicting her is the lintel of a temple in the Maniyan group at Dwārahāt. The goddess in it is seated flanked by two elephants. Other details are highly obliterated and nothing further can be said about them. But another image, though in a broken condition, was recently (Fig. 78) discovered in a field by the priest of the Gopeśwar temple. The lower part is completely missing. The extant portion, however, suggests that it is in a standing posture. With her right hand she holds a flower, while the left seems to dangle down. The right and left corners are occupied by two elephants on lotus seats flanking Lakṣmi and bathe her by pouring water through two jars. She is endowed with kuṇḍalas, hāra, mekhalā (a jewelled waist band) and artistically tied hair. The Gaja-Lakṣmī sculpture from Sanchi[106] and the present icon have some resemblance to each other. The former, however, belongs to the pre-Gupta time, while the latter can roughly be assigned to c. 9th century A. D. Though there is a difference of a few centuries among them, it seems that the mode of representation seems to have remained unchanged for quite a long time.

105. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

106. Śivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, Pl. II, Fig. 6.

Gaṅgā and Yamunā

The figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā have played an interesting role in the artistic decorative features of Indian art. The entire mythology of the descent of Gaṅgā has been very beautifully delineated on the doors and niches of temples from the Gupta time onwards. Some of the Gaṅgā sculptures, and especially that of Besnagar is an example of highest merit.[107]

The figures of these two river goddesses are not very frequently seen in the Kumaon region. Only a few instances are, however, noteworthy. Few small temples in the Maniyan and Ratan Deo groups at Dwārahāt contain these figures on the doorway lintels. But the highly mutilated condition hampers any further analysis of their details. Apart from it, another icon depicting Gaṅgā and Yamunā is reported from the western niche of the Lākhāmaṇḍal temple. Gaṅgā stands on a makara with a kumbha raised in her right hand, while the left hand is held in the kaṭihasta pose. The identification of another figure with Lakṣmī by some scholars is not convincing.[108] The Kūrma, vāhana of Yamunā, seems to have been identified wrongly as lotus, on the basis of which the female figure is taken to be Lakṣmī. Like the former figure she also holds the kumbha. Two female attendants bearing parasole flank them in the right and left corners. This similar mode of holding the water jar is also noticed in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā figures from Bilaspur in Madhya Pradesh.[109]

The present Gaṅgā-Yamunā figures carry many late features. The ornamentations and other details are characteristically of the 12th century A. D. Hence there cannot be any doubt in assigning them to the same period.

Sūrya (Figs. 79 and 80)

The worship of Sūrya has remained in vogue throughout India from the early times. During the Vedic age he was held in great esteem and was known by his various names, namely Sūrya, Savitar, Puṣan, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Mitra and Viṣṇu.[110] In the Brāhmaṇas and the Purāṇas his importance reached its high-water mark, where we find him with his twelve names. A later iconographic text describes the forms as "the expresser of the world"[111] and

107. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, Pl. XV, Fig. 4.
108. Vats and Agrawala, *op. cit*, p. 88.
109. Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Pt. II, Pl. CLVI.
110. Banerjea, J. N., "Sūrya (Ādityas and Navagrahas)," *J. I. S. O. A.*, Vol. XVI, p. 47.
111. Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, appendix C, p. 86.

brings before us the list of Dvādaśādityas. The worship of twelve Ādityas along with nine planets or Navagrahas has played noteworthy role in the religious life of the Hindus.

"It is probable that the systematic evolution of this sect both in the north and the south of India took place in the early post Christian period in different lines." [112] The importance of the cult of Sūrya led to a prolific growth of his icons. But before the beginning of any definite cult Sūrya was probably represented by means of various symbols like a wheel, a solar disc, a lotus flower etc. in the similar manner of the Iranians, which have specially been considered as "to be of Zoroastrian affiliation." [113]

It was believed by scholars like Coomaraswamy [114] and others that the representation of Sūrya appears for the first time in the Bhājā cave belonging to about the second century B. C. The figure in the chariot drawn by four horses in the cave was thus identified with Sūrya. It was later on questioned by Gyāni,[115] who very appropriately gave a different interpretation to it. In this connection he relates the story in the Divyāvadāna, which speaks something of the king Māndhātā. According to his opinion the sculpture represents the king himself, whose enterprises are recorded in the above text.

The latter view has almost reached a general acceptance of the scholars.

The portrayal of Sūrya images in the Indian art has always posed a question whether the Sun god appearing in varied costumes has absorbed something of the alien elements. It is very logical since we find almost all the north Indian Sūrya images having invariably a pointed cap, tunic, open coat and high boots. All these features show that the north Indian Sūrya icon adopted in a greater quantity the Iranian elements in it, while its South Indian counterpart remained chaste and pure.

The glimpse of the Iranian influence is first noticed in the sculptures from Mathura belonging to c. 2nd-3rd century A.D. They are generally shown with heavy tunic and high boots which bear a closer affinity in featurs with Iran. It appears that the costume of Sūrya icon was probably influenced

112. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

113. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

114. Coomaraswamy, A. K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927, pp. 230 and 232, figs. 24 and 61.

115. Gyani, R. G., "Identification of the so-called Sūrya and Indra figures in Cave No. 20 of the Bhaja group", *B. P. W. M.*, 1950–1951, No. I, pp. 15–21.

by the Iranians themselves, whose contacts with India were long drawn. Coomaraswamy, however, remarks: "it is by no means impossible that the Kusāṇa kings, whose attachment to the cults of Fire (whether Magian or Indian) is well known, and who paid special honour to the Sun may have set up and popularised a form of Sūrya image dressed in their own fashion."[116] Both the views appear to be convincing, but the former appears to be more appropriate.

Almost all the Sūrya icons from Kumaon belong to the late period. Though the reference to the cult of Sūrya goes back to about 5th-6th centuries of the Christian era—as is evident from the Tāleśvar copper plates—the inscriptional evidence does not tell us as to what was the nature of Sūrya cult in Kumaon. But beacause of a large scale mass popularity of this cult in Kumaon, images pertaining to this god were carved throughout the region. However, like the other sculptures, the Sūrya images had to face a severe disaster at the hands of iconoclasts. Despite that, a few representative types convey in the best possible manner the salient features of Sūrya iconography from this region.

The best preserved images come from Jāgeśwar, Dwārahāt and Baijnāth. Excepting one, almost all of them have an identical posture, either in the act of driving the chariot or standing on the padmapītha.

The Sūrya image from Jāgeśwar is a noteworthy piece of art. The three-feet high image made on smooth black-stone stands in the Samabhaṅga attitude on a chariot being drawn by seven horses with Aruṇa seated on the central horse. He holds lotus stalks in his two hands. On the bottom side corners are Daṇḍa and Piṅgala and the goddess Rajanī or Nikshubha. Two horse-faced Aśvins standing in tribhaṅga and kaṭihasta poses respectively carry mālās in their hands. On top corners are carved Brahmā and Viṣṇu figures. Brahmā holds a pustaka, kamaṇḍalu and probably a sruk with the lower right hand being in the abhayamudrā. The back left hand holds some indistinct object, probably a śaṅkha. All the above characteristics are also noticed in the other images from Baijnāth and Dwārahāt. Nevertheless, some elaboration in features and new element visible in these icons are worthy of note. Besides the common characteristics, a figure—out of the two attendents Daṇḍa and Piṅgala—holds an inkpot in the Baijnāth image. Then there are the other symbolic figures of the Sūrya icons, better known as Uṣā and Pratyuṣā. Both of them are in the act of driving the veil of darkness.

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116. Coomaraswamy, A. K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, P. 66,

But another image from Dwārahāt displays quite different features. The god is shown standing in Samabhaṅga on the padmapītha. Similar to the other images, two associates of Sūrya are shown and probably the bearded Piṅgala holds a "palm leaf and a stele",[117] as if writing something.

A female figure standing in the kaṭihasta pose in between the legs of the god remains unidentified. Rao has shown his in ability to identify this figure in one of the Sūrya images from Ajmer. Bhattasali, while describing the Sūryamūrtis from Bengal, remarks simply that in between the legs "stands a minature female figure." [118] The figure has thus remained unidentified. But it may be assumed that it probably represents one of the god's consorts. Besides, the depiction of two horse-faced figures or Aśvins in the right and left corners respectively is quite interesting. With these figures all the other associates of Sūrya i.e., Daṇḍa, Piṅgala, Uṣā, Pratyūṣā, Brahmā and Viṣṇu are well represented in the present icon.

One notable feature in this image is that almost all the attendants of god are adorned with long boots, sun discs and armours in the similar manner of that of the god himself. The *Matsya Purāṇa* lays down that the figures of Daṇḍa and Piṅgala should be "dressed in the north Indian fashion." [119] This may mean that they should also be decked like the god himself. The other group of texts also emphasise that the god should have northerner's dress. This dress should also deck his male and female attendants. Therefore, the mode of representation in the above image from Kumaon is not in any way out of order. At any rate it totally fulfills the iconographical principles. An image of the early Gupta period from Mathura illustrates this feature. The main figure as well as the two attendants wear boots and long coats. [120] This feature, though directly having Iranian affinity, is in accordance with the śāstrik rules. And the image from Kumaon also falls in the same category.

Seated image of Sūrya (Fig. 81)

An image from Baijnāth depicts god seated on his haunches in the chariot of seven horses. The accessory deities are well adorned as is the usual practice in all the sun icons. However, the main deity carries some different features. His long boots are decorated at the fiinges with geometrical designs. His kirīṭa-mukuṭa is quite unlike the other extant images from the region. It is a

117. Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 309.
118. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
119. Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 309.
120. Banerjea, *B. H. I.*, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3.

round cap with a tapering top. The cap resembles to some extent that of the seated marble Sūrya image from Kishengarh (Rajputana).[121] Though earlier in age, one image belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period shows a similar sitting posture.[122] This particular posture seems to have been originally derived from the sitting posture of the Kuṣāṇa king illustrated by Coomaraswamy.[123]

Almost all the images from Kumaon bear similarity in decorative details. The boots, kirīṭa-mukuṭa, kuṇḍalas, keyūras, kaṅkṇas, mālās, hāra and a round halo sometimes like sun disc decorate the images. However, a few dissimilarities in features are observed in the images. The yajñopavīta in the Sūrya icon from Baijnāth is shown with a marked thickness. This feature is found nowhere else in the other sculptures from this part. Nevertheless, this is found commonly in the South Indian Sculpturs. Another noteworthy aspect of this image is observed in a garment held up folded in both the arms. It reaches the knee and the two side-ends fall on the shoulders of the attendants standing on either side of the god, This trait has again a resemblance to some of the Kuṣāṇa images. The Dwārahāt image, besides having the usual decorative elements, bears some additional features. The god is shown wearing an avayaṅga (waist girdle), the lower end of which covers the thighs. In the right side of his waist there seems to be a sword sheathed inside the belt. The portrayal of sword is, nevertheless, a common feature in some of the early Gupta or Kuṣāṇa images. One such image from Mathura depicts a dagger "between the feet fastend to a strap passing through its sheath."[124] With long moustache and other features, V. S. Agrawala has described it as the image setting up "a new type in Sūrya iconography borrowed from Iran."[125] The image from Kumaon, though varying in resemblance, may also be taken as its close prototype.

The above discussion shows that the tradition of fashioning the Sūrya icons developed greatly during the Kuṣāṇa and the Gupta periods. This very mode was handed down to the sculptor in the subsequent centuries. Because of this reason the Kumaon sculpture of Sūrya even after such a long time turned out to be a true copy of its predecessors.

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121. Rao, *op. cit*, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3.

122. Diskalkar, "Some Brahmanical Sculptures in the Mathura Museum", *J. U. P. H. S.*, Vol. V. Pt. I, Pl. 12, Fig. III.

123. Coomaraswamy, op. cit., Pl. XVIII, Fig. 64.

124. Agrawala, V. S., "A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art", *J. U. P. H. S.*, Vol. XXII, Pts.I-2-1949, p. 167.

125. Ibid.

These icons from Kumaon belong to different periods. The difference is, however, not much. In other words, they roughly belong to a time scale of three centuries. The image from Jāgeśwar is a fine specimen of art. On stylistic consideration thus this image may be assigned to c. 8th century A. D. On the pedastal are inscribed a few names including that of 'Raul Jogi' in the Nāgarī character of about 13–14th century. This seems to have been a later forgery as the evidence goes against the characteristics of the icon. The other image from Baijnāth shows profuseness in ornamentation, dresses etc. On this basis therefore the icon belongs to c. 11th century A. D. The image from Dwārahāt is more elaborate. The god is lavishly decorated. Besides, many figures flanking the god are shown in the image as if attending on him. The supreme sublimity is diminished clearly in this image. These characteristics put it to be of c. 12th century A. D. The other seated image from Baijnāth, due to its most similar features, also belongs to the same period.

The Sūrya icons unlike the other images contain fewer South Indian traits. Though an earlier image of Sūrya-described in the preceding pages-bears a little similarity in yajñopavīta with the South Indian type, this cannot be taken as of great significance. The reason for the purity of Sūrya icon from Kumaon cannot be stated at the present stage. However, it may be assumed that the Kumaon icons remained purely north Indian, since the cult of Sūrya grew and developed in the north. Several foreign elements got their absorption along with the Indian features. Another reason may be that the sculptor became probably well versed with the Śāstrik rules laid for the north Indian Sūrya icons. And finally, it appears that the priests and other South Indian immigrants did not intentionally interfere in the development of Sūrya iconography–the reason being that they might have been more Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite rather than following the Sūrya cult.

Navagraha

The antiquity of Navagraha worship in India cannot be ascertained with definiteness. It can be, however, presumed that the worship of the 'grahas' along with the twelve Ādityas came to occupy a very important place in the religious life of the Hindus, though it can also be admitted that the prominence of Navagrahas reached higher only after the 5th century A. D.

Various texts, such as the *Yājñavalkyasūtra*, Viṣṇu-dharmottara, Agnipurāṇa, *Śilparatna*, etc. describe the forms of the nine planets in different manner. Stone slabs depicting these 'grahas' were used as lintels in the mediaeval temples of India. The earliest instance of this nature comes from Bhubaneśvar temples belonging to the 8th–9th century A. D.

In the region of Kumaon a few instances of the existance of Navagraha slabs can be cited. The Gujar Deo temple at Dwārahāt contains a slab representing these planets. They all are disfigured and any remark about them is not possible from their present condition. Then, as referred to before, the Adbadari image comprises these 'grahas' on top of the Srī-chakra.

But the slab (Fig. 82) with outstanding preservation and consisting of all the nine planets comes from Jāgeśwar. All the figures in it stand in a row. Standing from right to left are Sūrya, Soma, Bhauma, Budha, Guru, Śukra, Śani, Rāhu and Ketu.

Sūrya is depicted in abhaṅga pose with two lotus stalks held by the upraised hands. He is decked with the kirīṭa-mukuṭa, kuṇḍalas, hāra, yajñopavīta, kankaṇas, and Kaṭisūtra. The kirīṭa-mukuṭa covers the braided jaṭā.

Bhauma in the similar posture holds a kamaṇḍalu in the left hand and the right hand is held in the same mudrā as of the earlier figure. He resembles the soma figure. However, his mukuṭa slightly differs by the addition of a disc on top.

The fifth figure of Guru is represented in the dvibhaṅga pose with a kamaṇḍalu held by the left hand. The right hand is held in the abhayamudrā. Other features go well with the Soma figure.

The sixth and seventh i. e., Śukra and Śani bear a striking identity with the earlier figures in almost all the details.

Next to them, Rāhu appears differently only with his bust. A grinning face embodies his nature. His hair tied up in a bunch of spiral coils rise up and the hands are in the tarpaṇa mudrā.

Ketu in the present slab is depicted comparatively dwarf. Standing with añjalihasta pose, he is decked with round kuṇḍalas and hāra. Benerjea is of the view that in the architectural use of the planets panels depicting Ketu are of later period. Citing the corroborative evidence of the shrines at Bhubaneśvar, he says that the earlier period contains only the figures of eight grahas.[126] A simibr slab coming from the worcestor Museum is illustrated by Saraswati.[127] It appears that this belongs to the early mediaeval period, while the Jāgeśwar slab to about 9th–10th century A. D. The absence of Ketu in the former, while the presence in the latter make us to accept the view of Banerjea. It

126. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

127. Saraswati S. K., *The Struggle for Empire*, Vol. V, Pl. L. (The slab originally comes from Uttar Pradesh).

seems that the emergence of Ketu in the Indian art along with other planets took place in about the beginning of 9th century A. D

Garuḍa (Figs. 83, 84 and 85)

Garuḍa or Garutmān, the mount of Viṣṇu is included in the Sātvata list of the thirty-nine incarnations. The Ṛgvedic hymn extols him as endowed with beautiful wings. He is known with various names in the later epic and purāṇic literature.

The Garuḍa motifs in the early Indian art are noteworthy, for in the earliest period he is depicted as a huge parrot-like bird with due emphasis on some of his physical features. The later stage is non-bird. The first stage of him is discernible from the Gupta coins. The later development of non-bird is described in the *Śritatvanidhi* and *Śilparatna,* [128] where he is shown as having two arms.

The mediaeval Garuḍa images are divided into two classes: One showing him as Viṣṇu's mount and the other where he is represented independently.

From the region of Kumaon both the above types of Garuḍa figures have been noticed, The Viṣṇu icons from here present him generally standing at the fringe in the posture of adoration. However, one or two instances can be forwarded that the images from Dwārahāt and Baijnāth have depicted him as an actual mount of Viṣṇu.

About three independent icons of Garuḍa in a well preserved condition are reported from Baijnāth, Ābdadari and Śrīnagar.

These images carry the characteristic features of different ages.

The Garuḍa image from Ādbadari depicts him as kneeling on his left leg in añjali pose. He is decked with hāra, mālā, sarpa kundalas, keyūras, kaṅkaṇas, a waist garment and kaṭisūtra. The locks are spread in the form of a halo behind his head, thus making a background for it. The beard, moustache and the wings are eminently displayed. Besides, the image has a few more elaborate features. They are two female figures standing on either side in the tribhaṅg pose each of them bearing a chauri (fly-whisk), and the top corners depict flying Vidyādharas carrying mālās.

The above features in the icon are noteworthy. The other Garuḍa images from Kumaon as also in some other mediaeval sculptures from other parts of India do not carry these features. There seems to be no specific description about these detals even in the iconographical texts. The only

128. Rao, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 286.

assumption may, therefore, be forwarded that the importance of Garuḍa as a deity reached its high water mark in Kumaon during the late 10–11th century A. D., and the extant evidence proves that even independent shrines were attributed to this god. [129]

The other image from Baijnāth is also well preserved. It bears many similar traits of the earlier icon. But there are a few variations as well. The hair tied stylistically with intertwined locks go from one end to the other. Besides, one under garment, probably a dhoti adorns him. In association with the main figure, there are two more figures in the right and left corners of the image. Top corners depict in the same manner, as with the former icon, flying Vidyādharas with mālās.

Two more specimens are noticed at Śrīnagar. One of them is placed before a Viṣṇu shrine, while the other is actually enshrined in a small shrine. Both of them are interesting since they differ in representation. The first icon depicts the figure covered with an umbrella, while the other is shown with the wings and a cobra rising up from beneath the knees.

All these Garuḍa icons belong to different periods. The process of development is well marked in them. The first icon from Ādbadari belonging to the 10th century [130] depicts him with wings and two standing attendants. The decoration is plain and simple. The second image from Baijnāth inscribed in the 12th century character carries varied elements. The wings are invisible while the attendants, instead of standing are shown seated. The figure is profusely adorned. The elements in the Śrīnagar images are also noteworthy. The first image placed before the Viṣṇu shrine simply shows an umbrella above his head, but the other has some interesting features. The Garuḍa figure has wings and is endowed with necklace, kuṇḍalas and a small mukuṭa with a stylistic top edge. Apart from it, the figure is depicted in the añjalihasta pose carrying probably a pot of nector with in his palms.[131] The feats of stealing

129. There is a small shrine at Śrīnagar attributed to this gods which appears to have been built in the late 17th–18th century A. D. Usually the small shrines attributed to Garuḍa stand before the Viṣṇu shrines, a trait which is in conformity with the required order, but here it is independent.

130. It bears an inscription on the pedastal, which though not legible, supplies us the date as Samvat 900. With the absence of era, it is not possible to decide whether it belangs to Śaka or Vikrama era In Kumaon both the eras have been used in the inscriptions. The earlier, nevertheless, predominated. And so, if the above is taken as Śaka era, the image may be placed in 978. A, D.

131. Prof G. Tucci has suggested to me in one of his letters that the elements in the Garuḍa icons from Baijnāth and Ādbadari appear to be the product of Rajasthani art. The point is very Strong. In the early and late mediaeval period because of political unstability several communities from the plains appear to have migrated to the remote corners of the Himalayas. The Rajasthani and Gujarati immigration was relatively more. Hence the influence on the art and architecture of Kumaon was quite obvious.

the nectar by Garuḍa are narrated in the Mahābhārata. Hence the present hypothesis may be correct.

These four images may be chronologically placed on stylistic considerations. Since the bird represented the earliest form of Garuḍa, the wings may be taken as the remnant of his early nature. The Ādbadari image belonging to 978 A. D. has wings, while the latter from Baijnāth belonging to c. 12th century is devoid of this characteristic.

The above consideration thus puts both the Śrīnagar images respectively to the 11th and 13th century A. D.

Kubera (Fig 86.)

Kubera, the king of the Yakṣas, has been described in various texts. "In the developed mythology of later times he was also the Guardian of the northern quarter (Uttaradikapati)".[132] Thus being the Guardians of the Eight Quarters (Aṣṭadikapālas) as well, various texts describe his iconic types. Some of the Vedic gods like Indra, Agni, Vāyu, Varuṇa etc. were his associates in the set up and so, quite obviously, he commanded a sufficient iconographic attention. Thus, for him also there are some iconographical principles and the observance of these has been taken into consideration while carving his images.

The earliest allusions to the Yakṣas along with Kubera is to be "found in the Atharvaveda"[133] where Kubera is mentioned as the king of the yakṣas.

The sculptures of Kubera have been noticed in India from quite an early past. Since the Yakṣas as a whole had long antiquity in the mythological literature, it was obvious that the sculptures pertaining to them were carved even before the early centuries of the Christian era. He appears to have his representation from the pre-Christian period. Reference may be made in this connection to the capital of a stone column in the form of a banyan tree discovered at Besnagar. Bags and vases overflowing with coins are represented under the tree; a conch-shell and a lotus flower, similarly discharging coins in the other side of the tree have been identified by Coomaraswamy with his (Kubera's) two nidhis i. e. śankha and padma. This banyan tree is dated to the 3rd century B. C.[134]

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132. Panerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

133. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

134. Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Yakshas*, 1931, Pt. II, p. 72. Pl. I, Cunningham had also associated it with the Yaksha cult. Panerjea however has not accepted it and took it to be associated with Lakshmi and finally a representation of Bhagwata cult. See Panerjea, J. N., Religion in Art and Archaeology (Vaisnavism and Śaivism) 1968, p. 11.

A matter of prime consideration is that the Jaina canonical literature also enumerates something about the yakṣas. The Kubera is also known as Vaiśravaṇa and Jambhala in the Buddhist mythology. In his Buddhist prototype he holds a mongoose vomiting jewels.

Kumaon is full of Kubera sculptures. Most of them are in mutilated condition. The representative types, are, however, worthy of description and both of them come from Baijnath. One of them in a good condition presents well defined characteristics of Kubera. Seated on a cushioned throne in the ardhaparyaṅka posture he holds by his left hand a tiny mongoose placed on his thigh. By the right hand he holds a bowl up. He is endowed with a ratna kuṇḍala in right ear, while the left is adorned with a round one. He wears a small mukuṭa, which partially covers his intertwined locks, hāra, kaṅkaṇas, keyūras, bejewelled mālā and a dhotī (loin cloth), which covers his right knee. A halo with lotus design is seen behind the head. A pot kept beside him indicates his nidhi. To the right side stands a female figure, probably his consort Riddhi, with a vase in her hands.

The features of this Kubera icon have resemblance to that its prototype Jambhala of the Buddhist pantheon by the mongoose it possesses. To be more specific, it has a little resemblance to the Jambhala image in the Indian Museum.[135]

The other image carries almost the similar features. But the mode of presentation has slightly changed. The excellence in the outwardly appearance has diminished. An additional feature is that the image is shown with flying gandharvas hovering in the sky with mālās.

Both the icons belong to two different periods. The first is inscribed on the pedastal in the 8th century character.[136] The second image on stylistic considerations belongs to c. 12th century A. D.

Jaina Iconography

We do not have much from this region pertaining to Jaina iconography. In the whole of the region, Dwārahāt has only to say something about its existence.

Apart from other extant traces of Jainism, there is one beautiful image (Fig. 87.) of Pārśvanātha at Dwārahāt. The sculpture is shaped like a niche containing in its centre the main figure seated in dhyānāsana under a seven hooded snake canopy. The right hand is placed over the left on the lap, with the palm upturned. There are two figures on the left and right. They may be taken as the two chāmara bearers. The entire sculpture is well

135. Banerji, R. D., *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculptures, A. S. Imperial Series.* Pls, XXXVI–XLVII, Fig. C.

136. It contains the following inscription. (Āsma Sūtradhāra śrī Jayanāgasya Putreṇa Ānandēna ghaṭitāḥ).

decorated with tablets and diamonds and the upper part shows the leaves of some tree. It may probably be the deodāra (or Devadāru) which is considered as his Kevala-tree.[137]

This image belongs to about the 13th century A. D. The inspiration of fashioning the Jaina icon has probably come from Gujarat and Rajputana.[138] As this might have happened only after the 12th-13th century, the present image may also be placed contemporary with it.

Conclusion

A study of the icons in Kumaon helps us to make certain general observations which may be summarised below.

We have no traces of the early sculptures from Kumaon The reason probably being that almost all of them were made of some perishable material like wood and clay. Though there is no evidence today of the survival of this type of images, a solitary wooden sculpture at Champāwat[139] testifies that the practice of making the images in such material was probably common in Kumaon and the adjoining hilly parts.

From the Gupta period onwards sculptures were produced in a large number. But the actual inception of the prolific production of sculptures took place only in about the 7th and 6th centuries of the Christian era. All these sculptures carry some of the Gupta characteristics nicely.

The period beginning from the 8th to the 14th-15th century witnessed a remarkable growth in the sculptural wealth of Kumaon. The cause of the momentum may be the emergence of the Katyuri and the Chand dynasties in the region. They were liberal and enlightened dynasties and may be well credited to have advanced forth the growth of art and architecture quite stupendously.

One of the notable features of the reigns of these two dynasties is that with the augmentation of icons many new and varied ideals were incorporated. The result was that several complexities are noticed in the icons from Kumaon. It appears that they very unhesitatingly accepted the alien ideas in their religious life. The influence appears to have come from almost all the directions. South India particularly influenced some of the Śaiva centres of Kumaon. Noteworthy among them are Kedarnath and Gopeśwar. In the later centuries Gujarat and Rajputana greatly influenced the art of Kumaon.

137. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

138. See Architecture Chapter for details.

139. It was noticed by the author during his exploratory tour, but its perishable nature has totally disfigured it.

As is indicated, almost all the extant images belong either to Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava pantheon. Not any Buddha image has come across, though the discovery of one such near Hardwar has been reported a few years back.[140] The Jainas have also left comparatively little.

If we view carefully the periodic trends in Kumaon art and architecture we shall be able to say that political as well as religious conditions of the region had greater impact on these branches in a definite succession. But one notable feature of Kumaon art was that polytheism rather than monotheism became the core of the social set-up. The principal deity was reverred as much as was the subordinate deity. This needs no elaboration, but it is necessary to say that for all such elements in the entire western Himalayan region folk appeal and interest played a significant role in various ages.

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140. The author has not been able to examine it.

CHAPTER VI

EPIGRAPHY AND NUMISMATICS

SECTION I

Epigraphy

There seems to be a dearth of epigraphical material in Kumaon. Whatever of some value we have got at present, is in the shape of a few copper plates, which have been published by various scholars. There are hardly two or three stone inscriptions also. Only on the basis of this data, it is possible to know something of Kumaon history. But the above epigraphical evidence as a source of history comes to us only after the 6th century A. D.

The earliest grants available in Kumaon are the two Tāleśvar copper plates belonging roughly to about 6th century A. D. Following them are five other copper plates and a praśasti, all belonging to the Katyuris.

Besides these inscriptions, there are a few more from Kumaon and Dehradun, though their utility, so far as the history is concerned, seems to be quite insignificant. The first and foremost among them is the Kālsī Rock edicts of Aśoka. Though the inscription does not directly reflect anything on the history and culture of Kumaon or Dehradun, its presence in the region is, nevertheless, noteworthy.

So before taking up anything in details about the copper plates and praśastis, we should first put chronologically all the extant records in Kumaon and Dehradun.

I. The Kālsī Rock-edicts of Aśoka.
II. Devaprayāg Brāhmī inscriptions (2nd to the 5th century A. D.)
III. Lākhāmaṇdal fragmentry stone inscription of the Gupta period.
IV. Śilavarman's inscription at Jagatgrām (4th century A. D.)
V. Two Taleśvar copper plate grants (6th century A. D.)
VI. The Kasār Devi Rock inscription (6th century A. D.)
VII. The Pāṇdukeśvar plate of Lalitasura Deva Year—21
VIII. The Paṇdukeśvar Plate of Lalitasūra deva Year—22
IX. The Bāgeśwar stone inscription of Bhūdeva (9th century A. D.)
X. The Paṇdukeśvar Plate of Padmaṭadeva Year—25
XI. The Paṇdukeśar Plate of Subhikṣarājadeva Year—4
XII. The Lākhāmaṇḍal Praśasti
XIII. The Bārhāṭ and Gopeśwar inscriptions.

Apart from the published material, a few epigraphs were newly discovered by the author in Kumaon. They are as follows :

I. Two Brāhmī and Tibetan inscriptions from Māṇā in Badarināth (c. 5th–6th century A. D.)

II. Kasār Devi Rock[1] inscription near Almora (6th century A. D.)

III. Kālīmaṭḥ Praśasti (c. 11th century A. D.)

Description of Various Inscriptions

The third copy of the fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka is engraved on a huge boulder of quartz on the right bank of river Jamuna at Kālsī, which is about twenty miles to the west of Dehradun town. The boulder is 10 feet long, 10 feet high and about 8 feet thick at the bottom. The main inscription is engraved on the smoothened surface, which measures 5 feet in height, with a breadth of 5 1/2 feet......on the right hand side an elephant is traced in outline.[2]

The Script

The script in the Kālsī Rock Edicts is Brāhmī and the language Prākrit. The chief characteristics of the Kālsī alphabets are that the "letter *kh* has a loop at the bottom......A similar loop is found occasionally in the centre of *g*. The end of an edict is marked by symbol resembling a crescent. From Edict X the characters get larger and the two letters *ś* and *sh* are frequently used...... In a few lines of the first part of the Kālsī inscription (29, 33–36, 39) the punctuation mark, which occurs once in each of 11, 13, 25, 31 is employed repeatedly. Many times, the same mark is found in the Sahasrām and Maski rock–inscriptions. [3]

Almost all the inscriptions of Aśoka carry marked variations. The palaeography of these inscriptions contain the following traits[4] :

I. Wide variations in the form of letters—Majority of letters have different forms. This shows that they were developed in different times and localities.

II. Local varieties—They were broadly the Northern and the Southern and also some other regional varieties.

III. Cursive and advanced forms of letters—The letter possesses an ornamental as well as a cursive form. This is particularly noticed in the northern class of alphabets.

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1. *I. A. R.*, 1961, p. 49.
2. Hultzsch, E., *Inscriptions of Aśoka, C. I. I.*, Vol. I–1925, p. XI.
3. Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. XI
4. Pandey, R. B., *Indian Palaeography*, Pt. I. Banaras–1952. P. 17.

The most noteworthy aspect among all of his inscriptions is the local variations. "The southern variety is most strongly expressed in the Girnār and Śiddapura edicts." [5] But there are slight differences in the aforesaid inscriptions from those of Dhauli and Jaugada. Even the writing in the northern version is not quite homogeneous. The pillar edicts of Allāhabad, Mathia, Nigliva, Paḍeia, Radhia and Rāmpurvā form one very closely connected set, in which only occasionally minute differences can be traced [6]......But very peculiar and altogether different is the writing of the rock edicts of Kālsī, with which some letters on the coins of Agathocles and Pantaleon agree. Perhaps it is possible to speak also of a north-western variety of the older Maurya alphabet."[7]

Thus it appears that the fuller growth of the existing local varieties was not ably materialized because the edicts were incised under peculiar circumstances. Firstly, all of them were drawn in the Imperial Secretariate at Pāṭaliputra and then forwarded to the provincial governor. "As the differences in the grammatical forms and small alterations in the text indicate, the edicts were copied by the provincial clerks before they came into the hands of the stone masons. It is a matter of course that the scribes of the Rājukas, in copying them, were influenced by the forms of the letters in the originals, and that they immitated them, be it involuntarily or out of respect for the head office." [8]

But inspite of all the probable efforts for maintaining purity in the inscriptions, local influence can be clearly distinguished from all the inscriptions of Aśoka.

In the Kālsī edicts itself, there are some features which may be taken as of local origin. The frequent use of *s* and *sh* after the X edict may be taken as the remniscent of local influence. This particular alphabet occurs once again in the plate of Padmaṭadeva from Paṇḍukeśvar [9] without any consideration for the proper use of s, ṣ and ś or sh. In the entire Kumaon–Garhwal and Dehradun the use of ś and *sh* became very frequent and its assimilation was so deep rooted that even today there is no distinction between s and ś or sh among the people of this region.

Some of the later inscriptions from Kumaon and Dehradun exhibit

5. Buhler, G., *Indian Palaeography*, Cal. 1959, p. 51.
6. Another Rock Edict recently discovered at Mirzapur may also be interesting from this point of view. Its early publication is awaited.
7. Buhler, G., *op. cit.*, p. 52.
8. Buhler, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
9. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 284. (referred to in Chapter II)

resemblance to the traits of Aśokan inscription, and particularly to the Kālsī edicts. Noteworthy among them are the Devaprayāg Brāhmi inscriptions of 2nd to the 5th [10] century A. D. and the Lākhāmaṇḍal [11] Praśasti. The formar contains alphabets with ornamental and angular features. Then we notice as many as three forms of *y*. The latter, though belonging to a later period, contains highly ornamental mātrās. These all the features remind us of the traits found in the Mauryan inscriptions. Hence it may be said that the subsequent development of script in Kumaon and Dehradun was markedly influenced by the Mauryan inscriptions, and particularly that by the Kālsī edicts

The date of the accession of Aśoka has received a wide treatment from various Indian and foreign scholars. According to one view it took place in 273 B. C.,[12] while the other puts him to 269 B. C.[13] Whichever date is chosen, it appears that the edicts at Kālsī were engrave l sometime from 263 B. C. to B. C. 259, because we are told in line 22 of this insciiption at Kālsī that ten years after the coronation, he (Aśoka)............went to Sambodhi......[14]

Devaprayāg Brāhmī Inscriptions

After the Asokan Rock edicts at Kālsī, the Devaprayāg Brāhmī inscriptions are interesting. The inscriptions, containing personal and a few place names, are all about forty, They consist of three types of script, known as the Brāhmī, ornamental Brāhmī and the later Devanāgarī.

The characteristic peculiarity of the ornamental type is that a 'cone' is placed on the top of some of the letters. "The flat and angular bases of *d*, *m*, *v* and *h*, etc. in some of the inscriptions indicate an early period." [15] In others we notice what is known as the nail-headed or acute angled variety of the late Brāhmī script. Some of the letters like *m*, *s* and *h* are throughout of the so-called southern variety. They have resemblance to the alphabets of Eraṇ stone inscription of Samudragupta. Such letters, according to J. F. Fleet, represent "a variety with southern characteristics of the central Indian Alphabet," [16] which may roughly be assigned to about 4th century A. D.

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10. Chhabra, B. Ch. "Devaprayāg Brāhmī Inscriptions" *E. I.*, Vol. XXX, p. 133.
11. Bühler, G., "The Praśasti of the Temple at Lākhāmaṇḍal" *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 10.
12. Mookerji, R. K., *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 88.
13. Thapar, Romila, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, Oxford University-1961, p. 33 and Smith, V. A., *Aśoka*, Oxford, 1901, p. 63.
14. Devānampiya Piyadasi lājā das (a) vasābhisite, samtaṁ mukhamitha saṁbodhi. See Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, P. 36.
15. Chhabra, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
16. *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 18.

The editor of the inscriptions further argues that the Devaprayāg alphabets with such type cannot be akin to central Indian, "since these inscriptions are in the north."[17] The view cannot, however, be accepted. D. C. Sircar has very rightly refuted the contention by remarking that "such records found at various places of pilgrimage were generally incised by pilgrims coming from a distance."[18] In the light of the above observation, it may be further added that the inscriptions with such traits at Devaprayāg were probably caused to be engraved by pilgrims visiting from central India or the present Madhya Pradesh. And therefore, there should be no doubt to take this type of alphabets in the Devaprayāg inscriptions as the central Indian variety of the southern characteristics.

As regards the date of these inscriptions, the editor, on the basis of the aforesaid palaeographical considerations, has placed them to "a period ranging from the 2nd to the 5th century A. D.[19]" Sircar does not agree with the above view and propounds that none of them belongs to a date much earlier than the fourth century A. D.[20] It is, however, difficult to accept latter's view because the basis of the former's view is the epigraph No. 18 which bears a tripartite form of subsciipt *y*. Though he cites that the same sign occurs in the South Indian Middle Brāhmī records, which is roughly assigned to 3rd or 4th century A. D.,[21] it is difficult to accept that every inscription at Devaprayāg bears a southern characteristic. Instead, we may say that the trait of several forms of a letter in the inscriptions has its origin in the Āśokan Rock edicts, and particularly that in the Kālsī Rock edicts, which because of its nearness might be taken as a precursor of this particular feature in the Devaprayāg Brāhmī inscription.

Śilavarman's inscription at Jagatgrām

The inscription is on the bricks excavated from the Aśvamedha site.

The palaeography of the inscription clearly exhibits a transition period in the Brāhmī script "when both earlier and later forms of *ma* and associative *ya* occurred side by side."[22] On this basis the inscription may be placed between 250 and 300 A. D.[23]

17. Chhabra, *op cit.*, p. 133.
18. Sircar, D. C., "Some Inscriptious from U. P.", E. I. XXXIV, Pt. V, p. 243.
19. Chhabra, *op. cit.*, p. 133,
20. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 243.
21. *Ibid.* n. 2
22. *I. A. R.*, 1954-5, p. 11.
23. Ibid.

The inscription opens with an auspicious preamble. This is the first instance of a classical style in the region of Kumaon and Dehra Dun, when 'Siddham' was used in the opening line of an inscription. The antiquity of a preamble goes back to the most ancient past, when in *Divyāvadāna* the "echo of this tradition is found in a story." [24]

The Lākhāmaṇḍal fragmentry inscription

Another inscription from a nearby place, known as the Lākhāmaṇḍal fragmentry inscription, comes to us whith a little similarity to the former. It contains the Gupta Brāhmī script of about 5th century A. D. The language is Sanskrit. Its composition is in verse, the meter being in the Vasantatilaka.[25]

"The forms of initial I and y as clearly seen in line 4 and line 7 respectively are definite indications of the early charter of the script employed." [26]

The preamble Siddham is again noticed in this inscription. The inscription contains an invocatory verse, where in the author makes obeisance to Nāgendratanayā i. e. Pārvatī.

The Kasār Devī Rock inscription

The inscription is engraved on a boulder about five miles north east of Almora town on the top of a hillock near the modern temple of Kasārdevī. "The characters of the letters which are each about four inches in height, exhibit an admixture of the North Indian script and the South Indian alphabet of the Telugu–Kannaḍa speaking area of about the 6th century A. D." [27] The present author disagrees with the above observation. From the personal observation[28] at the site and on further study, it appears that the Kasār Devī inscription has a sharp resemblance to the Kuṭila variety of the north.[29] This 'triangle headed' script has been wrongly taken by the learned editor as the

24. Chhabra, B. Ch., *Diplomatic of Sanskrit Copper plate grants*–1961, p. 7.

(It makes its first appearance in the inscriptions of the Sātavāhānas and Kṣaharātas found at Junnar, Mahad, Kud, Karle, Shelarwadi and Nasik. "The use of this formula spread from Maharashtra and Andhra during the first three centuries A. D. Even the foreign powers like the Kushāṇas and W. Kṣatrapas adopted this auspicious formula......Mathura became a good centre of this formula and the Guptas found and adopted it here." With their rule it extended over the North and the East of India.)

See Pandey, *op. cit.*, pp. 145–46.

25. Chhabrā, *op. cit.*, p 80 (referred to in Chapter II)

26. *Ibid.*

27. Sircar, D. C., "Inscription at Kasār Devī" *E. I.* XXXIV, Pt. V, p. 248.

28. *I. A. R.*, 1961, p. 49.

29. Ojha, G. H., *Prāchin Bhāratīya Lipimālā*, p. 62, Pls. XVII–XXIII,

script of the Telugu–Kannaḍa speaking area, which usually has a roundish feature [30] quite contrary to the triangular headed kuṭila [31] of the north.

More important than these are the copper plate grants from Kumaon. As they are the best source of our history, it is essential to know about them in details.

The two Tāleśvar Copper plate grants

These copper plates were discovered at Tāleśvar sometime back in 1915 at something less than one foot below the surface, while digging the foundations for an ordinary wall.[32] "Plate A measures roughly 1′ $4\frac{5}{16}$″, $11\frac{5}{8}$″ and 1′ $\frac{13}{16}$″ in breadth, and the plate B is roughly 1′ $\frac{13}{16}$″ in length and $11\frac{15}{16}$″ in breadth." [33]

The alphabet of the seals is comparatively early than that of the plates. And it may be rightly said that the former has many characteristics in common with the Gupta script. The Gupta traits may be summarily pointed out.

(a) The lower parts of the right hand verticals of *ga, śa* and *ka* are about double the length of the akshras without vertical.[34]

(b) The third horizontal line of *ja* slants downwards.

(c) The cross bar replaces the dot in the case of *tha* in line 3.

(d) The transitional form of *ya* occurs in the seals.

(e) The right hand portion of *sa* and *pa* shows an acute angle.

The records on the plates show later characteristics than the alphabets on the seals. They seem to be in the transition stage. "The letters slope from right to left. Those worth noticing are: *u, ka, tha, dha, na, ma, ya, sa*," [35] etc. Particularly *ka* has a loop to the left such as is generally observable in the latter half of the sixth and the first half of the Seventh century. This resembles the Lākhāmaṇḍal *ka* very much (for instance *Sakala*). *Tha* also goes very near to the Lākhāmaṇḍal *tha*. Similar is the case with *dha* and *na* also.

But the language of the plates is somewhat ungrammatical Sanskrit. It is

30. *Ibid.*, p. 84

31. The term kuṭila variety has been discarded by Bühler and he calls it instead an acute-angled variety. But the present use of it does not have any relation with the controversy. See Bühler, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

32. Gupte, *op. cit.*, p. 109. (referred to in Chapter II)

33. *Ibid.*

34. The characteristics as shown by Bühlar resemble the present script used on the seals. See Buhler, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

35. Gupte, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

noteworthy that *va* has throughout been written for *ba* and the alphabets like *a, ka* and *ta* are often doubled before *ra*. For example, we notice *kkraya* and *yāttra*.

Era : The plates are stated to have been issued from Brahmapura. They, however, give us vague dates. The first plate issued by Dyutivarman supplies us the date as "the 30th day of the month of Pauśa of the fifth year of the reign."[36] The second charter issued by king Viṣṇuvarman is dated "the 5th day of the (month of) Mārgga (śirsha) of the 28th year of the reign."[37] Both the eras are incapable of being put into known eras for want of more specific information.

The dates of the charters have been assigned on the basis of palaeography. Because of the resemblance of alphabets to the Gupta script, the editor has placed the seals to the latter half of the 4th century A D.[38] The script of the plates, bearing some later elements, belong to about the middle of the sixth century A. D.[39]

Style and Matter

As stated earlier, the grants bear features of the Gupta script. The charters are in prose and start with the description of the dynastic rulers. But in between we get several expressions similar to the Gupta inscriptions.[40] Apart from it in Plate II, there are quotations from Vyāsa, which are nevertheless, incorrect and incomplete.[41] From the contents it appears that the charters are both donative and commemorative. This is clearly indicated in Plate II that the purpose of issuing the copper plate is to perpetuate the memory by specifying the names of the land given for religious merits and fame of the king.[42]

Invocation and Mythological allusions

The charters open up with the usual preamble and then begin comparison of the city of Brahmapura with that of Purandara (or Indra). In Plate II the king has been compared with Viṣṇu not directly, but 'as the

36. Gupte, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
40. Tat-pāda......and Paramabhaṭṭārka mahārājādhirāja, etc.
41. Vindya-ātavishv......ātoyāsu śushkakoṭaravāsiṇaḥ and krishṇahayobhi (hi) jāyantō ya ākshepaṁ kuryāt-sa pañcha mahāpālaka saṁyuktaḥ syād. Gupte, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
42. Tannāma samāropaṇānusmaraṇa......etc. See Gupte, *op. cit.* p. 119, L. 11.

weilder of the disc.'[43] Besides, the charters give mythological allusions to lord Vīraṇēśvara,[44] which probably represented Śiva.

Emblems

Both the plates, as stated already, are soldered with oval seals or about 5" diameter having a recumbant bull, the head of which is turned right over the left shoulder. Below it there is a four lined legend giving the name of the ruler and his ancestoral genealogy. Before the bull there is either a fish or a tortoise and below probably a garuḍa. Behind it (bull) there is another symbol which cannot be identified. All these legends and representations are in relief and surmounted by a hooded cobra (nāga).

The representation of the seal is indicative of authenticity of the charter. It is believed that the seal attains elaborate elements in the later course of the centuries, but prior to it, "the earlier ones are simple and contain an emblem or two forming the royal insignia or coat-of-arms." [45] The above view does not strictly apply to Kumaon records. The Tāleśvar plates, which are known to be of earliest period in Kumaon, bear elaborate elements, while those from Paṇḍukeśvar, belonging roughly to 9th–10th century A. D., contain on their seals hardly one emblem–a bull and a legend. It therefore appears that the use of emblems and legends was done here according to suitability without any set rule.

It has been pointed out earlier that the script in the seals exhibits earlier traits than that in the plates. This characteristic of the plates compels us to think about them. The editor of the records doubts the authenticity of the seals as also of the plates. But he further adds that the "seals are gilded and appear to be casts from the originals." [46] However he calls the seals and the plates a forgery owing to the following reasons.[47]

(a) because the seals of both the plates differ in size ;

(b) because the knobbed ring on the seal is not cleverly joined and the rough portion at its edge gives ample room to suggest that it has not been cast in royal foundary, but it is forged and cast from the original seal ;

(c) they are of inferior copper and perhaps gilded to escape detection of forgery ;

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43. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

44. Bhagavad-viraṇeśvara-śvāminaś-charaṇa-kamal-ānudhyātaḥ. See *Ibid.*, p. 118, L. 3.

45. Chhabra, *op. cit.*, p. 21

46. Gupte, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

47. *Ibid.*

(d) the genealogy of the dynasty given in the seal does not agree with that given in the plates.

The plates are also taken as to have been forged because we get several mistakes in the text. But the most important clue is supplied by plate I which tells that the original grants have been burnt and "that person under the evil influence of the Kali age, might in course of time, raise objection." [48] This appears to have been the cause of forgery.

The above disparities observed in the seals and inscriptions and the statement about the burnt records thus fully testify to the forgery in the records

Opening and closing formulas

The plates open with the word svasti. According to Pandey, this had a later development but it attained equal popularity [49] like the word Siddham. Some of the earliest instance of the use of 'svasti' are found in the Baigrām copper plate inscriptions (G. E. 128 = 448 A. D.), the Pahārpur copper plate inscription (G. E. 159 = 479 A. D.) and the Guṇaighar copper plate inscription of Vaiṇyagupta.[50] Later on this word is also found in the records of Harṣa.

The concluding words in the plates give the names of the writers Viṣṅudāsa and Dhanadatta respectively and the goldsmith Ananta, who engraved them.

This method is fairly old as we also notice the use of it in the inscriptions of the Indo-Greeks, the śakas and the Kushāṇas.[51]

The Paṇḍukeśvar Plates of the Katyūri rulers

The four plates from Paṇḍukeśvar are of utmost importance, for they bring to us a historical dynasty, whose role in the history of Kumaon region is highly commendable.

Almost all the plates range from 24.4″ × 19.2″ in measurement.

Script

All the plates from Paṇḍukeśvar have the Northern class of alphabets of about 9th century A. D. The letters exhibit some early features and therefore they have to be assigned to a comparatively early times. Such letters as "*pa, ma, ya* and *sa* are open throughout at the top, by the form of the

48. *Ibid.*, 111.
49. Pandey, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*

initial *ā*."[52] But a more interesting feature like the Tāleśvar records is that *ba* is always used for *va* in all the records.

In respect of orthography, some of the consonants are reduplicated in conjunction with *ra*. "The anusvāra is wrongly used in some cases for the final *ma* which, however, is usually retained before *va*......*sha* has been used in place of *śa*" [53] as is indicated by khasha. Again *śa* is used in place of *ṣa*, as āśāḍha. Similarly *i* is found instead of *ī* in line 25 of the second plate of Lalitasūradeva. The orthography in the plate of Padmaṭadeva changes "by the influence of local pronounciation." [54] In the similar manner of the Kālsī Rock Edicts, there is an indiscriminate use of *sa* and *śa*. For example, there is asva for aśva and kisora for kiśora. Again āhīra has been used for ābhīra. The former particularly indicates a local word. In both the plates of Padmaṭa and Subhiksharājadeva there is no rule for *sandhi*.

Era

The copper plate grants are dated in the regnal reckoning of the kings. The first plate of Lalitasūradeva is dated (in line 23) on the 3rd of the dark half or Māgha of the 21st year of the king's reign.[55] Kielhorn has suggested that the above date probably refers to the Uttarāyaṇa–Saṁkrānti, on which the donation was made.[56] On this basis he has assigned it to 22nd December, A. D. 853.

The second charter of this king refers to the auspicious day of Viṣuwa Saṁkrānti and further adds the date as "the 15th day of the dark half of Kārttika in the 22nd year of king Lalitasūradeva's reign,[57] the date of which is worked out as 25th September, 854 A. D

The plate of Padmaṭa gives the date as a day (possibly the 3rd) of the dark half of Māgha in the 25th regnal year of the king. "Line 21 refers to the Uttarāyaṇa Saṁkrānti as the occasion of the grant.[58]"

The charter of Subhiksharājadeva is dated in the fourth regnal year, the 5th day of the dark half of Jyeṣṭha.[59]

52. Kielhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
53. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 277.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 284.
55. Kielhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
56. *Ibid.*
57. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 278.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 284.
59. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

Barring the first and the last, the two plates contain the reference to various Saṁkrāntis. The Saṁkrāntis are the astronomical commencement of a solar month i. e. "the moment when the sun enters a constellation of the Zodiac[60]" or an epoch with which Hindu festivals are often associated." [61]

Vijay Rājya

One noteworthy aspect of Pāṇḍukeśvar plates is that in almost all of them, we get an expression "pravardhamāna vijay–rājya–samvatsare." The expression carries the meaning as the increasing reign of victory of a particular king, who has used it.

Fleet remarks about this method of expression that "this was a very common one in early times; and is due, of course, to the fact that the early years of most eras were regnal years, and that after the death of the founder of each era, the expression was continued mechanically in the case of his successors." [62]

Besides Kumaon, the use of this expression has also been very common in other inscriptions. Particularly the expression appears for the first time in the Mathura Pillar inscription of Chandragupta II.[63] Then in line 6 of the Bilsad Pillar inscription of Kumārgupta, it occurs like this: "in the year ninety–six of the augmenting victorious reign of Kumārgupta." In the Indore grant of Skandagupta it is given as......"the year one hundred, increased by forty–six of the augmenting victorious reign of Skandagupta.[64]" Besides, it occurs in the Gaḍhwā inscription of the year 148[65] and in the other series of inscriptions like the Gūṇda inscription of Rudrasiṁha[66] and Mathura inscription of Vasudeva;[67] the Kadamba [68] inscriptions from Mysore and several other Sanskrit–Kannaḍa

60. Pillai, L. D. S., *Indian Ephemeris*—Madras, 1922, Vol. I. Pt. I, pp. 3 and 10.

61. The Saṁkrānti was probably taken as an auspicious day even during those days as it is today. According to the present custom in Kumaon, the following Saṁkrāntis are taken auspicious. Mīn Saṁkrānti or locally known as the Haldu Saṁkrānti; Paisākh or the Mēṣa Saṁkrānta, locally known as the Vikhoti; Karka-Saṁkrānta; Bhado Saṁkrānta; Kanyā Saṁkrānta and the Makara-Saṁkrānta. The two Saṁkrāntis used in Katyūri grants are the Viṣuvat-Saṁkrānti, which may be the present day Mēṣa or Vikhoti-Saṁkrānti, while the Uttarāyaṇa is the Makara Saṁkrāti.

All these Saṁkrāntis have their respective festivals in Kumaon during these days.

62. Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–39, p. 5.

63. Pandey, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

64. Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–39, n. 5.

65. *Ibid.*

66. *I. A.*, Vol. X, p. 157.

67. *A. S. I.*, Vol. III, p. 35.

68. Kielhorn, F., "Inscriptions of Southern India" *E. I.*, Vol. VII, pp. 105–106.

inscriptions [69] as also in the inscriptions of the Western Chālukyas of Badāmi.[70] In the late mediaeval period the expression is also used in Gujarat.[71]

The use of this expression in the Kumaon records appears to have been adopted from the Gupta inscriptions.

Style and Matter

These charters follow the pattern of the Tāleśvar copper plates. In these also, the opening lines immediately start describing the rulers. All the grants are in prose excepting a few imprecatory verses at the end of each charter. The phrases are used very often. [72] The charters are donative. It is clearly proved by the fact that they contain grants of land made to the Brāhmaṇas.

Invocation and Mythological Allusions

The charters open with an invocation to Dhūrjaṭī (Śiva) and holy goddess Nandā. The plate of Padmaṭa and Subhiksharājadeva, however, make obeisance to Chandraśekhara (Śiva). But an interesting allusion in these two plates compares the king in charity as excelling even Sagara, Dilīpa, Mandhātri, Dhundumāra, Bhagīratha, Bali, Vaikartana, Dadhīchi and Chandragupta. At one place Lalitasūrdeva claims to have acted as a boar (the god Viṣṇu in his incarnation) in saving the earth from sinking. Again at another place he compares his might with Prithu. [73]

Emblems

Like the Tāleśvar copper plates, the charters from Panndukeśvar are appended with seals. They measure about 3" in a diameter on a handle-like projection on the proper right side. On the countersunk surface, the seals have the figure of a couchant bull facing to the proper left and beneath it a legend in three lines mentioning the reigning monarch together with the names of his father and grandfather. In the plate of Padmaṭa, we get the projection in the same manner as with the earlier plates of Lalitasūradeva, but the seal is missing and instead there is a squarish hole only in the projection. The plate belonging to Subhiksharājadeva is also damaged from all the corners, so much so that the projection is itself missing totally.

69. *I. A.*, Vol. VII. p. 107.
70. Kielhorn, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 3, 4.
71. *I.* A , Vol. XI, p. 240.
72. Pavana-vighaṭṭit-āśvattha-pattra-chañchala-taraṅga-jīvalokam-avalo (kyaja) la-vu (bu) dvu (dbu)-d-ākāra (ākh-ā). See Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 280, L. 18.
73. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

Opening and closing formulas

The charters open with the preamble 'svasti śrīmat'. The gradual change in the opening formulas is visible in the inscriptions belonging to early mediaeval period. There are some other preambles also, besides the above 'svasti śrīmat'.

The conclusion in these charters, however, is quite different. The first two plates of Lalitasūradeva end with nine and five benedictive and imprecatory verses respectively.

This method of benediction or an utterence of blessings has a long history. Pandey is of the view that "some germs of benediction can be traced in the edicts of Aśoka." [74] But the actual use of it became distinct from the Kuṣāṇa period. [75] It can, however, be pointed out that it remains rudimentary for a pretty long time. It is with the Guptas that the long and full-fledged benediction starts. Later on it is noticed in almost all the inscriptions. For example, it is used in the inscriptions of Yaśodharman of Malwa and the Gwalior stone Inscription of Mihirakula (c. 515–35 A. D.). [76] But "the inscriptions belonging to the period between the seventh and the thirteenth in the Deccan and South follow the Gupta and Vākāṭaka styles of benediction in their respective regions." [77]

The imprecatory substance represents the invocation or calling down of evil upon persons deeds or objects. [78]

Though its actual use in the inscription is noticed after the 4th century A. D., the rudiments of it are found in some of the early inscriptions and particularly in the Aśokan edicts. [79]

The two other plates from Pāṇḍukeśvar contain the name of the writer of the grants followed by a few benedictive verses.

Atkinson has suggested a similarity of these records with the Pāla grants on the following reasons :

(a) That the name of the scribe is the same in all the Pāṇḍukeśvar and many other Pāla grants. [80]

74. Pandey, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

75. Sten Konow, "The Ara inscription of Kanishka II—the year 41" *E. I.*, Vol. XIV, p. 134.

76. Pandey, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

77. *Ibid.*

78. *Ibid.*

79. Idham na kinchi jīwam ārbhitpā prajūhitabyam na cha samājo katathavo. Bahukam hi dosam samājamhi pasati devāna piyopriyadasi rājā. See Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, R. E. I., p. XI.

80. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 490–93.

(b) That both the Kumaon and Pāla grants have followed the remarkable coincidences in form, language and recorded facts and so it appears that they both have a common origin.

(c) The list of officials to whom the grants are addressed has no parallel elsewhere excepting the Pāla records.

(d) The Pāla records are also dated in Samvat 3 or so like the regnal years given in the Pāṇḍukeśvar plates.

(e) And then finally he relies on the statement of the Pāla records that Dharmpāla visited Kedāra.

The above observations are correct. If we compare the Pāṇḍukeśvar plates with the Pāla records almost all the above characteristics are noticed in them.[81] The reason for such a resemblance has already been discussed earlier.

The Bāgeśwar Praśasti

The only Praśasti which the Katyuris had left was at Bāgeśwar.[82] It has been already stated that the transcript and translation have not been satisfactorily done and so there are several mistakes in the language. It is not possible in such circumstances to comment on the language and orthography. But like the other Katyuri records, it uses many set expressions.[83] The opening formula in this is used as 'Namaḥ svasti'. This expression is quite new from the other records in Kumaon. As noted before, this addition in the expression svasti tend to show later development.

The Lākhāmaṇḍal Praśasti

The inscription seems to have been incised with great skill and neatness and is still in a good preservation.[84]

The chief characteristic of Lākhāmaṇḍal Praśasti is that the letters slope from the right to the left, and show acute angles at the lower or at the right ends, so also "the tops of the vertical or slanting lines invariably bear small wedges, and their ends either show the same ornaments or protuberances on the right."[85] As such these may be termed as the "acute-angled alphabet."[86]

81. Barnett, L. D., "The Mungir Plate of Devapāladeva: Saṁvat 33", *E. I*, XVIII, pp. 304-7.

82. The stone inscription is not available now for personal examination. It is supposed to have been taken away by some foreigner.

83. Paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja, tatpādānudhyāta, etc. See *J. A. S. B.*, *op. cit.*, p. 1056.

84. It is now kept in the small Museum at Lākhāmaṇḍal.

85. Bühler, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

86. *Ibid.*

According to Bühler this Lākhāmaṇḍal Praśasti has much in common with the Gayā inscription of A. D. 588–89. As these two are connected with the western Gupta alphabet, he opines that they "mark the first step in the development of the acute-angled alphabet during the 6th century." [87] Further, Bühler adds to it that the Horiuzi palm leaves also belong to this class. [88] But more than this we should look for resemblance to the adjoining region of Nepal. The inscriptions collected by Bhagawan Lal Indraji are interesting in this regard. Especially those from 9 to 15 are closely allied with the present inscription. [89]

Other characteristics of the inscription point out to be interesting. As noted before, it has "highly ornamental kāṇās and mātrās." [90]

The language is a chaste Sanskrit offering a few irregularities in the orthography. "Instead of the anusvāra we have invariably *na* before *śa*, and also before *sa*, with one exception, where the dental *na* stands." [91] Like the Tāleśvar and Paṇḍukeśvar records, there is no distinction in the use of *va* and *ba*. Bühler is of the opinion that it is an "indication that then as now the letter *va* was always pronounced *ba* in Northern India." [92] This observation is very sound. Particularly in the hilly region the two alphabets *va* and *sa* have an indiscriminate use as *ba* and *śa*.

As regards the contents, the inscription offers a so-called praśasti "a eulogy or panegyric." [93]

Opening and closing formulas

The record opens with the word 'Oṁ Brahma'. This is however, an earlier trait. The formula 'Oṁ' symbolised the Ultimate Reality. [94] Usually it is put with svasti.

The closing words contain the name of the writer, Bhaṭṭa Vasudeva, son of Bhaṭṭa Skanda and grandson of Bhaṭṭa Kshemaśiva. The name of the mason is given as Īśvaranāga, son of Nāgadatta, an inhabitant of Rauhitaka.

The Bārhāṭ and Gopeśwar tridents

There are two tridents made of copper and brass at Bārhāṭ and Gope-

87. *Ibid.*

88. *Ibid.*

89. Bhagwan Lal Indraji, *Twenty-three Inscriptions from Nepal*, Bomb.—1885, pp. 9–16.

90. Bühler, *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 10.

91. *Ibid.*

92. *Ibid.*

93. *Ibid.*

94. Pandey, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

śwar. The former is 21 feet high, while the latter about 16 feet. Both of them contain inscriptions on their shafts.

The inscriptions on the tridents are of two varieties. The first has the older script, while the second, the Nāgari The older-script—Bārhāṭ trident contains especially several Tibetan alphabets mixed with the Gupta Brāhmī. The older script can therefore be assigned to c. 6th–7th century A. D. The Nāgari belongs to the 12th century A. D.

The older inscription does not tell us anything significant excepting that it glorifies the prince who got it incised. The name is missing.

The Bārhāṭ inscriptions opens with 'Svasti Sri'. The closing lines are also benedictive.

Gopeśwar inscription also resembles the former in its older inscription. But that too does not contain the name. Hence the Nāgari inscriptions containing the name of Aśoka Challa or Aneka Malla are quite valuable from the point of view of history.

Other inscriptions

The unpublished inscriptions referred to earlier are not very much significant. Only the Praśasti at Kālimaṭh which awaits publication is interesting, for it introduces a new dynasty of Rudrasu, whose name is yet to be substantiated by other records

The inscription, however, contains almost all the characteristics of Pāṇḍukeśvar plates. Therefore, it belongs to c. 10th–11th century A. D.

SECTION II

Numismatics

Kumaon offers little numismatic data. As compared to other regions of India only a few series are known.

Chronologically, Kuṇindas may be regarded as pioneers as far as minting of coins is concerned. After them came the Kushāṇas on the soil of Kumaon, though the availability of their coin-type is not sufficient.[95] Succeeding them, the Yaudheyas seem to have played a dominant role in the history of Kumaon. The provenance of their coins has been quite widespread in the region of Kumaon. Actually, none but the Yaudheyas have only left hoards of coins in Kumaon. And therefore, their contribution to the numismatic wealth of Kumaon is of great value.

The occurence of tribal coins in Kumaon is very significant, for it supp-

95. Nautiyal, K. P., 'Three Kushāṇa Gold Coins from Kashipur', *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 181–82.

lies us the history of two warlike tribes, who occupied the region at a time when it was isolated from the rest of India.

The description of the coins is as follows :

Almora coins

Shape—round
Material—Silver
Weight—327, 281, 304 grs.

Obv. A circular mark with a zig-zag tail in the centre; bull before tree-in-railing. Side : Siva-dattasa; Siva-pali (ta), Har (da) tasa. Rev. A nandi-pada and a standard encircled by four simultaneously growing pine trees. [96]

The Almora coins–probably indigenous–have remained a subject of interest among numismatists. On the basis of the script used in the coins, they have been dated roughly by Allan to about 2nd century B. C.; meaning thereby that they belong roughly from 2nd century B. C. to 1st century A. D.

The question arises as to which dynasty these rulers belong. Rapson,[97] Powell Price[98] and the present author[99] have attributed them to the Almora branch of the Kuṇinda dynasty.

The symbols on the coins require our special consideration. Powell Price has identified the tree as the Bodhi tree and the animal on the obverse as a stag of Kuṇinda type.[100] Allan, however, describes the animal as a bull.[101] This seems to be quite convincing if we carefully observe the animal. The tree is also interesting. The drooping branches of it suggest it to be a pine tree. Speaking about the Kuṇinda tree, Chakrabortty remarks that the Kuṇinda tree seems to be a pine tree with a conventional representation of branches arranged in three or four rows.[102] The other symbols with a zig-zag tail may either be taken as an ornamental device or a river flowing from a small circular hill. Though the representation of a hill symbol in all the other coins is quite different, it is very likely that the present form of the hill might have been illustrated in this manner due to some local variation.

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96. These will be discussed in the following pages.

97. Rapson, E. J., *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 529.

98. Powell Price, "The Early History of Kumaon", *J. U. P. H. S.*, Vol. IV, Pt. II, p. 7.

99. Nautiyal, K. P., "The Numismatic History of Kumaon", *J. N. S. I*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 375–86.

100. Powell Price, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

101. Allan, J., *Catalogue of the Indian coins in British Museum*, pp, LXXX and 120 Pl. XIV, Fig. 7, 8, 9.

102. Chakrabortty S. K., "The Tribal Coins of Northern India", *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLVI for 1935–36 in the *J. R. A. S.*, 31–37.

The symbols on the reverse also need a thorough appraisal. Allan suggested them to be 'an altar surmounted by (triangle-headed banner) with an elaborate nandipāda symbol on its face.'[103] Chakrabortty vaguely describes it as "the two symbols between the posts, the upper ones is the triangular symbol and the lower one may be a nandipāda."[104] However, the present author has shown elsewhere that "the four long sticks with leaves like things are indicative of the deodār (cedar)[105] tree." A coin containing the above symbol was discovered by Powell Price in Almora on which he commented that "deodār does not grow in the plains and this taken with mountain symbol points to a hill[106] origin. This supports the assumption that the deodār and pine were both used as the devices on the coins in Kumaon, and particularly those on the Almora coins. Even in the present day the deodār or cedar tree resembles closely the coin type and so there cannot be any doubt in assuming that it represented the above device. The reason for the inclusion of both the trees may be explained thus that the pine signifies the dynastic symbol of the Kuṇindas, while the deodār or cedar signifies some connection with the hills. Apart from it, the other symbols are more problematic. It is better to take it as a standard, and the other 'an elaborate nandipāda',[107] as Allan has put.

Besides these three coins, a further discovery of Kuṇinda coins is reported by Kala and Prayag Dayal. The former is said to have examined about eight coins out of a hoard of a thousand coins from Śrīnagar in Garhwal District. According to him all the coins are of the same Kuṇinda type, "but they show a little variation. On the obverse there is the usual deer facing a female, with the usual symbol above the deer. But the deer faces to left instead of right, which is its usual position."[108] The other symbols on the reverse are tree in railing and six-arched hill. They contain both Brāhmi and Kharoṣṭhi legends on the obverse and reverse respectively.

The Kushāṇa coins

Next to Almora coins of the Kuṇindas, we have three Kushāṇa gold coins from Kashipur. These are the first series of the Kushāṇa dynasty to be discovered from Kumaon.[109]

103. Allan, *op. cit.*, p. LXXI.

104. Chakrabortty, *op. cit.* p. 78

105. Nautiyal, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

106. Powell Price, 'Kuṇindas and Katyuras', *J. U. P. H. S.*, XVIII, Pts. I and II, p. 215.

107. Allan, *op. cit.*, p. LXXII.

108. Kala, S. C., 'Further light on the territory of the Kuṇindas', *J. U. P. H. S.*, Vol. VIII, Pt. I, p. 36.

Following is their description :
Shape—round
Material—gold

Obv. King standing right wearing a peaked cap. Holds a standard by the left hand, sacrifices at the fire altar, decorated with a trident. Sides : Inscription in unintelligible Greek characters.

Rev. Goddess Ardochso seated on the throne facing, holding noose in right hand and cornucopiae in the left. Sides : Brāhmī inscriptions (Edhurāyā adhujā or Sadhujā).

No. 2 Obv. Similar to No. 1

Rev. As above. Side : Inscription in debased Greek (*APΔOOΔI*) probably intended to be (*APΔOXPO*)

No. 3. In all the characteristics it resembles the first coin; on the reverse there is a vertical legend, letters (?) in Brāhmī.

The distinct features of these coins are : firstly, the figure of the king faces to the right instead of left. Secondly, the line of the male skirt reaches a marked concavity in the type. These considerations lead us to assume that the coins belong to the later rulers of the Kushāṇa dynasty. Besides, they carry a close resemblance to some of the coins particularly that illustrated by Rapson. [110]

As described, the legend in Greek is unintelligible. However, the legend on the reverse, as noted before, is interesting, for one coin bears a complete Brāhmī legend, which as far as it is deciphered supplies us the name Adhujā (or Sadhujā). It suggests that the coin was issued for an area where Brāhmī was a predominant script during those days. The name may be either of some governor or may be only some epithet. On other coin the legend is in mixed scripts i.e. Nāgari and Brāhmī. It consists of three alphabets vertically put from the opposite under the left arm. This method of putting legends has been termed by Banerjea as after the 'Chinese fashion'. [111] The third coin also bears a Greek inscription, similar to that on some coins noticed by whitehead. [112] The first four alphabets show conformity, while about the rest ill-formed letters, it may be said that they came to appear in the present form due to gradual degeneration and debasement in the script.

109. Nautiyal, K. P., *op. cit.*, p. 180–81.

110. Rapson, E. J., *Indian Coins*, Pl. 2, Fig. 14.

111. Banerjea, J. N., 'Coinage', *A Comprehensive History of India*, p. 792.

112. Whitehead, R. B., *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore I, p. 212, Pl. XIX, Fig. 286.

Yaudheya coins from Dehradun

A hoard of about 164 copper coins was discovered at Jaunsar Bawar of Dehradun District as early as 1936. Prayag Dayal examined them and concluded that they came under the class 3 coins of Allan. [113] According to him the coins belong to the later stage of Yaudheya history and may be assigned to the 2nd century A. D. [114]

The coins are interesting as they bear various devices.

Shape—round, cut unsystematic.

Material—copper.

Weight—ranging from 195 grs. to 82 grs.

Obv. generally six-headed Kārttikeya, standing holding a spear and resting the left arm on hip. Legends : inscriptions in bold and cursive Brāhmī characters.

Rev. goddess, chaitya, building deer and bull standing before tree-in-railing, etc.

Date—assigned according to the style, symbols and inscriptions, as 2nd century A. D.

One of the coins presents a god and goddess standing on a lotus—a feature quite alien to the other type of the Yaudheya coins. The other peculiarities are a circular mark below Chaitya, building on the upper side, cock-standard, bull and ass in place of deer. The identification of ass, however, presents some difficulties. We do not find even a horse used as a symbol elsewhere in the Yaudheya coins. But here the animal may better be taken as a hill pony instead of an ass. If the view is accepted, it will really be an interesting addition to the devices in the Yaudheya coins. One more coin of the hoard is again curious. [115] The Kārttikeya identified on this coin is quite unlike the others. It is more a geometrical device rather than a human form. Nothing can be explained about this distorted representation, but it seems that the coins could not withstand the varied climatic conditions.

Yaudheya coins from Lansdowne (Garhwal)

Yet another discovery of a hoard of copper coins of the Yaudheyas has been reported by Kala from Lansdowne in District Garhwal. [116] The

113. Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

114. Prayag Dayal, 'A New Hoard of Yaudheya Coins from Dehra Dun District', *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, p. 109.

115. *Ibid.*

116. Kala, S. C., 'Some interesting coins of the Yaudheyas', *J. N. S. I.*, XVIII, Pt. I, p. 46.

coins totalling about 129 were examined by the above scholar and according to him they may be roughly put between the end of 2nd and the 1st half of the 3rd century A. D.

Shape—round, cut unsystematic.
Material—copper.

Obv. multi-headed or six-headed Kārttikeya, standing, facing, holding spear. No legend.

Rev. sometimes Kārttikeya and Śiva holding triśūla. Deer, goddess, etc. occur on the reverse. Legends : in Brāhmī, names of the kings adding the epithet Jaya and Rajaño in some cases.

The coins bear symbols and legends of peculiar characteristics. The hoard includes several coins bearing the legend Rāvaṇasya. This ruler is absolutely new in the Yaudheya history. Apart from it, there are about twenty five coins of Bhānuva. Allan had published one of this type in his catalogue. The symbols are also new in many cases. Besides the usual Yaudheya symbols, namely, six-headed Kārttikeya on the reverse, other symbols like the hill, river, etc., these coins bear six-headed Kārttikeya and the Śiva holding triśūla.

As noted already, some of the coins contain the epithet rājño. A special characteristic is, however, worthy of consideration as one coin adds the epithet Jaya.[117] This is significant since the other Yaudheya coins also possess this epithet.

We do not have evidence pertaining to the Gupta coins from the region of Kumaon. Future discoveries may fill up this gap. However, at present we have to close our study upto the Yaudheya period only.

Conclusion

The epigraphy as well as the numismatics of Kumaon are very poorly represented by the data available to us.

The connected story is lacking and one has to build up a chronological order by stray evidences.

The epigraphs of early period from Kumaon do not contain any account about the religion, political and cultural life of the people. Actually they do not contain anything excepting the names of the engravers. The Aśokan Rock-Edict at Kālsī does not throw any direct light on Kumaon, but, as noted

117. Kala, *op. cit.*, Pl. VI, Fig. 12.

before, it influenced the development of script in the region. The real beginning of epigraphic history takes place only with the Tāleśvar copper plates. Then the end is marked by the Paṇḍukeśvar copper plates. Though the Chand rulers issued copper plate grants, they are all late, and most of them belong to the late 16th–17th century A. D.

The numismatic data are also meagre. Excepting the evidence of tribal coins, there are no later coins from Kumaon. The reason for the absence cannot be explained Nevertheless, it appears that the future exploration and excavation may yield good results and bring before us a few new series of coins minted in Kumaon.

CHAPTER VII

RELIGION

Religion seems to have played an outstanding role in shaping the destiny of Kumaon people. Unlike other places of India, this part of the Himalayan region lacks in the literary and inscriptional data pertaining to the history of religion. Hence the basis of our study remains the ancient relics of the land that tell us vividly the tale of the past.

The Kirātas, who are said to have occupied the valleys of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, have left nothing about them. Therefore the speculation about their being mythical stands very strong.

The region witnessed a rapid transformation at the advent of the Khasas and later on in the immigration of the Aryans. Their migratian to the Kumaon Himalayas probably changed the whole religious outlook of the region. They seem to have introduced the Vedic religion. The aboriginals of Kumaon had probably their belief in demons and supernatural spirits. On the Aryan's immigration the above practice of worship receded into the background and some sort of nature worship was introduced in the land. As noted before, the Khasas were a branch of the Aryan stock. It can, therefore, be assumed that they also worshipped the nature as well as some of the Aryan gods and goddesses. The Khasas lost their superiority at some stage afterwards. The reason for it may be that they had possibly abandoned the strict observance of the religious usages. This degradation of the Khasas has, however, nothing to do with their religious zeal. It was probably a social degradation from the higher fold of the Aryan society.

The actual transformation of the region of Kumaon takes place during the time of the tribal dynasties, namely the Kuṇindas and the Yaudheyas. They introduced for the first time the form of government, a set currency system and probably the idea of anthropomorphism in the worship of gods and goddesses. It appears from their coinage that they were probably the followers of the Hindu pantheon. In their coins Śiva and Kārttikeya feature prominently. Besides, the Kuṇindas seem to have followed the symbolic worhip, which is evident from their coins found at Almora. Almost all of them bear symbols like the pine and cedar trees, nandipāda altar etc. These

objects had religious sanctity, particularly the cedar was mentioned in the Purāṇas. But it can be assumed that the Almora branch of the Kuṇindas were devoted more to Śiva worship. Their names after the god corroborate this view.

The Yaudheyas did not confine their devotions to any particular sect of the Hindu pantheon. Thus, while their coins bear more figures of Kārttikeya and Śiva holding triśūla, [1] Lakshmī also finds place in their coin-series. Therefore, we may conclude that both the tribal dynasties, though leaning more towards Śaivism, revered Viṣṇu and other allied gods and goddesses with an equal fervour.

Dark Age

After the period of the tribal dynasties, a stage of darkness descended on the history of Kumaon. But a few stray inscriptional evidence tells us that the region of Kumaon and specially the part known as Kedārakhaṇḍa or the present Garhwal and Tehrī Garhwal had attained a marked sanctity by the 3rd or 4th century A. D. Pilgrims had already started visiting the sacred centres This is testified by the names of the pilgrims engraved on the rock [2] behind the present Ragunāth temple at Devaprayāg.

But more than this some sort of political and religious consciousness had grown up in the region of Dehradun. This is evidently proved by the relics of Aśvamedha site at Jagatgrām near Kālsī. It has been already stated that the performer Śilavarman probably belonged to the Siṅghpura dynasty, whose genealogy is recorded in the 6th century inscription at Lākhāmaṇḍal. The dynasty seems to have worshipped Śiva. But prior to this dynasty also another comes out with a list of rulers. As we have seen, they have peculiar names, but they used to worship Pārvatī (Nagendratanayā).

Another dynasty of rulers at Brahmapura had their devotian to almost all the gods of the Hindu pantheon. Besides Śiva and Viṣṇu, homage has been offered to Indra also. In the inscription they are said to have descended from both the sun and the moon.

The beginning of the 7th century witnessed the arrival of Hieun Tsang in India. His account about the Kingdoms of India flourishing during his visit here is very interesting. It has been already stated that he has also spoken about the kingdom of Goviṣāṇa. His description about this kingdom highlights its all around development in the field of religion. A tradition is currently

1. Kala, S. C., 'Some interesting coins of Yaudheyas', *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, p. 46.
2. Chhabra, B. Ch., 'Devaprayāg, Brāhmi Inscriptions', *E. I.*, Vol. XXX, p. 133.

wide-spread that it had once several temples and monasteries. This is corroborated by the testimony of Hieun Tsang also. He remarsks: "There are the followers of both the Buddhist and Brahmanical faiths. There are five monasteries within which reside a few monks and there are some dozen temples of the gods. The followers of the different Brahmanical sects dwell together without distinction."[3] It shows that people in the kingdom of Goviṣāṇa were much tolerant in outlook and religious freedom was markedly observed.

Religion under the Katyuris and Chands

Religion prospered under these dynasties unabated. The accession of Katyuris had to face an atmosphere of religious strife and sectarian antipathy. They tried to overcome it and were somewhat successful in their efforts. They are said to have wiped out the growing influence of the Buddhist religion from the region of Kumaon.

Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism

Under the Katyuris and the Chands the progress of the Brahmanical religion reached to its highest degree. The eclectic tendency of the times of these dynasties is reflected in their religious ideals, for it is clearly seen that none of them confined the spiritual allegiance to one and the same deity. The temples and sculptures of various gods and goddesses further corroborate the above view

The arrival of Śaṅkara in the Kumaon Himalayas brought a tremendous change in the religous life of the people of this region as he is supposed to have been assisted by the Katyuri rulers in implanting the Brahmanical religion firmly. They patronised it as a state religion and several shrines of Hindu gods and goddesses were built by them. It has been stated alrealy that though the Katyuri rulers were the followers more of Śaivism than of Vaiṣṇavism, they had no sectarian bias. For instance, it may be noted that the first ruler of the Joshimath branch of the Katyuris favoured the cult of Vasudeva-Krishṇa. This is evidently proved by the Vasudeva temple at Joshīmath and the name of one of the rulers of the Katyuri dynasty, who also named him as Vasudeva.

The copper plate grants of the Katyuri rulers offer high extollation to Śiva. The use of several epithets in the records proves that the worship of Śiva was comparatively popular[4] in Kumaon.

3. *A. G. I.*, Ed. Majumdar S. N., pp. 357–58.

4. The names like Dhūrjati, Vyāghreśvara, Chandraśekhara and Māheśvara occur quite frequently in the records.
See Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 285–89 (referred to in Chapter II).

The reason for it was quite obvious. Since the Katyuris were associated with Śaṅkara, they acted upon saving Śaivism from disintegration and put the religion on the forefront.

The Katyuris went a step further in patronising the sub-sects of Śaivism. This statement meets corroboration in the temples of Kumaon, wherein we notice traces of Pāśupata influence on the Śaiva sculptures. Almost all the temples at Jāgeśwar bear witness to this influence. Later on this cult had greater impact and the Śaiva shrines like the Kedārnāth, Gopeśwar, Kālīmath and Baijnāth show marked influence of it.

The Katyuri rulers very fervently named their capital as Kārttikeyapura after the god Kārttikeya. The sculptures belonging to this god are many. Therefore it appears that the worship of the god was fairly popular in Kumaon.

Gaṇeśa's worship was as popular as that of the other gods. The Katyuri temples bear the figure of this god on the door jambs, lintels, niches etc. Some independent shrines along with ancient images also exist today.

Thus it appears that the main aim of the Katyuris in this region was to assure a victory of orthodox Brahmanical religion over the heterodox sects. Though they were mainly Śaivite and gave a great fillip to the sect, they appear to have brought a conducive atmosphere for the revival of other Brahmanical sects also.

The Chands seem to have accepted the same religious set-up. Though Śaivism remained superior during their times also, it appears that they accepted the tenets of the Brahmanical religion also.

Since the period of the Chand's ascendancy was marked with a political strife in the entire north India, it was felt necessary by the votaries of different religious cults to bring out some sort of reconciliation in the disputed questions of religion. Hence the images and temples were taken as the best medium of such expression. For this very purpose icons carrying composite elements were produced during this period.

Sūrya worship

Besides Śiva, Viṣṇu and Durgā, the cult of Sūrya became very popular in the region of Kumaon. As referred to already, the extollation to Sun god is found in the Tāleśvar copper plate grants of the 5th–6th century A. D. But then it does not tell us about the nature of Sun worship in Kumaon. The cult which appears to have a fair antiquity must have entered

the region of Kumaon at least in the beginning of Christian era. But since we lack in the literary and archaeological data, any finality to this view cannot be claimed.

The Katyuris as well as the Chands favoured the cult of Sūrya. This is testified by the presence of a large number of sculptures and monuments pertaining to the god. The iconography of the sun god and his worship developed in Kumaon on a set line according to the North Indian principles. As is indicated elsewhere also, Sūrya in his iconic elements was not at all influenced by the South Indian features.

The temples ascribed to Sūrya are many in the Kumaon region and the images installed in them are locally named as Barāditya, Sūryanārāyaṇa, Bhaumāditya etc.

The following of the cult is kept up during the present times as festivals are celebrated generally in the month of 'Paus' or January as also when an eclipse occurs. The god is given oblations with water mixed with milk and flowers.

The Cult of Śakti

The antiquity of the Śakti cult in Kumaon cannot be precisely determined because of the lack of material.

The origin of the goddess is given in the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā [5] by various names such as Umā, Pārvati, and Durgā. The goddess came to occupy a prominent position during the Gupta period. She was usually associated with Śiva. Her influence got widened and the destructive aspect gave her such names as Kālī (the Destruction), Karālī (the Terrible) Bhīmā (the Frightful), Chaṇḍī, Chaṇḍikā or Chāmuṇḍā (the wrathful).

The Harivaṁśa refers to her worship by hill and jungle tribe. "In Mahābhārata Durgā appears indifferently as the wife of Nārāyaṇa and of Śiva, the later associations became increasingly Śaivite." [6]

In Kumaon the Katyuris and the Chands worshipped Śakti with an equal fervour. In the Katyuri records the invocation for goddess Durgā or Nandā Bhagwatī is repeated frequently.

Temples belonging to goddess Durgā and Umā are many in Kumaon. It appears, however, that Umā and Durgā attained independent entity res-

5. Bhattacharya, H. D., *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 466.

6. Banerjea, J. N., 'Sakti' *The Classical Age*, p. 439.

pectively, for we see equal number of temples belonging to both of the goddesses.

During these days the worship of Durgā has become comparatively popular, while that of Umā has receded into background. We do not know when this happened first. But it appears that the growing influence of the Śāktas in the region of Kumaon might have brought out this change. It might have been probably due to their influence that various forms of Durgā received adoration in Kumaon and particularly the Mahiśāsuramardinī aspect gained stronger ground. The goddess is known by various names today. Important among them are Durgā, Kālī, Kaṁsamardinī[7], Mahiśāsuramardinī Tripurasundarī[8], Chāmuṇḍā and Chaṇḍikā. Each of them is associated with one or the other feats of the goddess.

Besides, the eight Mātrikas also seem to have attained some prominence in Kumaon. Several sculptures partaining to them were carved during the Katyuris and the Chands. Shrines were attributed to them and usually all of them enshrined together in one temple. But we have instances of separate temples of Vaiṣṇavi, Vārāhi and Nārasiṁhī in various parts of Kumaon.

The worship of Rāma

The worship of Raghunātha or Rāma has been popular throughout India. According to R. G. Bhandarkar "the belief in Rāma's being an incarnation of Viṣṇu existed in all probability in the early centuries of the Christian Era." [9] He further remarks that as there is no mention in the work of Patañjali, nor is there any inscription in which it occurs, these circumstances show that though he was an avatāra of Viṣṇu, there was no cult in his honour.

The cult of Rāma was probably founded in about 12th, 13th century A. D. It is stated that Madhva or Āannadtīrtha, the founder of the sect,

7. In *Harivaṁśa,* it is related how Viṣṇu descended to Pātāla and persuaded Nidrā-kālarūpiṇī to be born as ninth child of Yaśoda, when he was born as Krishṇa in order to defeat Kamsa's design. "Hence the Vaiṣṇava epithets in the hymn connecting her with Krishṇa under worship at Srinagar (Kotiya) as Kaṁsamardini (or crusher or Kaṁsa)." See Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 794-95.

8. Tripurasundarī means an ornamet of Tripura. Tripura here represents the three aerial cities of the Asuras, one of iron, one of silvar, and one of gold, which Indra with all his weapons could not destroy. In the Mahābhārata, Yudhiṣthira tells Krishṇa how Rudra destroyed the three cities. See Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 796.

9. Bhandarkar, R. G., *Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism and Minor Religiou Systems*, 1913, p. 47.

had visited Badarikāśrama and brought the image of Digvijaya Rāma. This had led Bhandarkar to surmise that "the cult of Rāma, therefore, must have come into existence about the 11th century." [10]

Whatever we may surmise about the actual inception of the cult of Rāma, it is definite that the theme pertaining to the god come to take place in sculptural representation about the 6th century A. D. For example, the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh shows a Rāmāyaṇa panel. [11]

The antiquity of the cult of Rāma in Kumaon cannot be fully ascertained. The present day worship of Rāma is especially performed on the auspicious day of Rāmanavamī. The festival is celebrated throughout the Kumaon region. Noteworthy places are Devaprayāg, Paurī and Almora. There are temples with Rāma images at all these places. The day on the Rāmanavamī starts with a holy bath and then the worship of the image of Rāma along with his consort Sītā and brother Lakshmaṇa is performed.

Like Kumaon, there is a similar practice of Rāma worship in the Kulu valley. The antiquity of the worship in Kulu goes back to the late mediaeval period, when a king of this place instituted annual festival or melā in honour of Raghunātha. Here the pre-eminence of this god has reached so much that on the occasion of this festival almost all the village gods are to be taken there for paying their respect to Raghunātha (or Rāma). [12]

The secondary gods and goddesses

Side by side with the Brahmanical religion, the worship of other secondary gods and goddesses progressed in Kumaon. There are temples [13] attributed to them and their worship started probably in the late mediaeval

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10. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

11. Ray, N. R., 'Sculpture', *The Classical Age*, Pl. XXIII, Fig. 52.

(The earliest reference to the image of Rāma is met with in the Varāhmihira's *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* ascribed to the 6th century A. D. But the reference has been given as that of a deified hero and not necessarily as that of a deity).

See Ghurye, G. S., *Indian Sadhus*, Bombay, 1953, p. 66.

12. Vogel, J. Ph., "Hill Temples of Western Himalayas", *I. A. L.*, Vol. xx, no. 1, pp. 27–28.

13. The temples of Garuḍa are found in Śrīnagar, Joshīmaṭh, Ādbadari and several other places of Kumaon. Dattātreya has his shrine at Dewalgarh and his image is worshipped also at Dwārahāt and Jāgeśwar. Hanumān has his shrine in Almora and Śrīnagar. Parāśara's at Jaunsār-Bāwar in Dehradun District and Mandhāta's at Ukhimaṭh. He is taken as a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu. Kapila has a shrine at Śrīnagar and there are four temples to Śiva as Kapileśvar in different places of Kumaon, Agastyamuni in Garhwal and Chauki in Kāli Kumaon respectively. Though almost all these shrines belong to about 16th–17th century, they are significant from the point of view of religion in Kumaon.

period of Kumaon history. Noteworthy among them are Garuḍa, Dattātreya, Hanumān, Parāsara, Māndhātā, Kapila, Agastyamuni, Ghatotakachha and Gorakhanāth.

Gorakhanāth

Among all of them, the influence of Gorakhanāth and his pantheon seem to be markedly visible even today in the whole of Kumaon. It is, therefore, essential to know something more about the Gorakhanāthīs in Kumaon. The followers of Gorakhanāthīs are known as Darsanis or more distinctively as Kānphaṭās.

The antiquity of the pantheon is a subject of controversy. Kānphaṭās believe that their sect existed before the world came into being,[14] which is evidently an exaggeration. As his following is widespread in India and Nepal, there are several stories with new interpretation at every place about the antiquity of the sect. His followers frequently refuse to give the time and place of his (Gorakhanāth) birth, because they consider him a superhuman. The Nepalese hold that he came to Kāṭhmāṇḍu from the Panjab. Other traditions from Oudh, Nasik and Gorakhpur in U. P. have some bearing about his connection with the Panjab. Therefore, on the basis of these traditions and the presence of a monastery at Tilla in Panjab, it would seem best to hold that Gorakhanāth was a native of the Panjab. [15]

The richest field for legends in which he plays an important part is the Panjab. Later on Mahārāshṭra was dominated by the Nātha Sampradāya. The influence spread far and wide during the mediaeval period. It went as far as Mālwā and Rajputana. But more than this, the connection of the Kānphaṭās is said to have remained with the Siddhas of Bengal, who had composed poems, known as the Charyāpadas between A. D. 950 and 1200. [16]

With the help of traditions and literary evidence, it may be said that Gorakhanāth or the sect of Kānphaṭās flourished about the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century A. D. and anyway not later than 1200 A. D. [17]

The Kānphaṭās dominated Kumaon from the very beginning of its inception. They are found during the present times at various shrines of Bhairava or Bhairoṁ in the local dialect. Particularly at Śrīnagar in Garhwal, Gorakhanāth is worshipped as an incarnation of Śiva. As far back as 1924

14. Briggs, G. W., *Gorakhanāth and the Kānphaṭā Yogis*, Cal. 1938, p. 228.
15. Ibid., p. 229.
16. Chatterji, S. K., "Bengali", *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 359.
17. Ghurye, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

Briggs carried a survey of this region [18] and found that there were a few gṛihastas scattered about in the neighbourhood of Śrīnagar. Below Śrīnagar there is a small cavern where there is a gilded image of Gorakhanāth. Besides, they have temples in Naini Tal, Almora and Dwārahāt. Near the Dak Bungalow in Almora is another private establishment. The temple contains small images of gods and goddesses including an image of Gorakhanāth with large ear-rings greatly exaggerated. At Dwārahāt in village Kāma there is a temple ascribed to Nāganāth. A pīr [19] of this sect looks after the temple. They have their dominance in the entire Garhwal and Tehri also. At Dewalgarh and several othere places near Pauri Garhwal, such as at Daduwā Devī and near by it, there are temples of Kānphaṭās. They are now gṛihastas [20] having landed property and several other paraphernalia. But their customs are still the same and they follow the rules laid down by the sect.

As stated earlier, the Pāśupata—a one time popular sect of Kumaon—got merged up with the Kānphaṭās, so much so that there is a total disappearance now of the former sect in the region of Kumaon.

Local deities

The most significant aspect of the religious life of Kumaon is the reverence towards some of the local deities. Though they have less importance from the orthodox point of view, it is essential to know something about them since they appear to have been the outgrowth of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism.

Ghaṇṭākarṇa

Ghaṇṭākarṇa or Ghaṅḍyāl is worshipped both by the lower and the higher classes principally. "The name Ghaṇṭākarṇa means he who had ears as broad as a bell or who has bell in his ears." [21]

About the character and antiquity of this deity, nothing is available to explain. However, he is taken as an attendant of Śiva and by some as a manifestation of Gaṇeśa. He is supposed to be of a great importance and is worshipped under the form of a water-jar as the healer of the cutaneous

18. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

19. Pīr commonly connotes a Muslim saint. Why he has been called a pīr is explained that the Nāthapanthīs by the adoption of the term contrived to escape utter annihilation at the hands of the Muslims. The explanation appears to be plausible. See Ghurye, *op. cit.*, p 157.

20. Their names are, however like the Kānphaṭā yogis affixed with the word nāth, such as Govindnāth, Shambhunāth, Kamalnāth etc.

21. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 816.

diseases. [22] He is a gatekeepr in many of the Kumaon temples and particularly in the temples of Garhwal.

Though in a different way, Ghaṇṭākarṇa is worshipped by the Newār community in Nepal. On a certain auspicious day he is worshipped and finally sunk in the river in the form of a statue lest he may injure the crops and the cattle wealth.

Bholānāth

"The current legend regarding the origin of the local deity Bholānāth and his consort Barhiṇī forms one of the connecting links between the universal hierarchy of spirits and goblins common to all the mountainous countries." [23] With the higher class of people Bholānāth and his consort are, however, taken as the form of Mahādeva with his Śakti.

The antiquity of the worship of Bholānāth goes back to the times of the Chand Rājās of Kumaon.

The story runs like this: "One of the rājās of Almora, in the lower Himalayas, had two sons; one of them fell into evil ways and when he was disinherited his younger brother Gyānchand succeeded. Many years after, the elder brother appeared in the guise of a religious mendicant and Gyānchand procured a gardener to slay him and his pregnant Brāhmaṇī mistress. The dead man became a Bhūt or evil spirit, and is now worshipped as Bholānāth, 'innocent lord', a title of Śiva, of whom, by and by, he will become a manifestation. His mistress and her unborn child also became bhūts and are particularly dangerous to gardeners. A small iron trident, the emblem of Śiva, represents him, [24] and it is placed in the corners of the peasant's huts to guard them against any sudden calamity." [25]

As stated above, the antiquity of the worship of Bholānāth goes back to Chand's time. However, it may be surmised that the belief in 'demons and spirits, malignant and beneficent has its indigenous origin. This very belief in the course of time has the development of various stories about bhūts or evil spirits in the later days of Kumaon's social life.

22. There are temples attributed to this deity. One such is at Badyārgarh in Tehri Garhwal and both the higher and lower classes of people worship it.

23. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p 817.

24. Their images have also been carved; one such is in Almora and is still in worship. See Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

25. Crooke, W., *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, Cal. 1896. pp. 160-61.
(This somewhat reminds us of the ancient Indian Yaksha cult which put much stress on the folk deities (or smaller gods or Bīr of the present times) in the Indian villages).

Satyanāth

At Dewalgarh there is a temple of Satyanāth. The service of the temple is conducted these days by the Sādhus. It is dfficult to say about the nature of this god—whether it is Vaiṣṇavite or Śaivite. Atkinson has, nevertheless, propounded a view that it probably represents "one of those non-Brāhmanical deities affiliated to the regular system in course of time and adored indifferently."[26] But the contention seems to have less weight. Instead, it appears that the worship of Satyanāth originated as a sub-sect of the Gorakhanāthīs. The Jogī or Sādhu at Dewalgarh, Known as the Pīr, is of the Kānphaṭā sect. He follows almost all the rules laid down it the sect.

Briggs also speaks about a sub-sect of Gorakhanāthis and calls it as Satanāthis, which according to him, has its prominence at Purī in Orissa.[27]

Gaṅgānāth

It is one of the favourite deities of the Doms or the lower class of people. The origin of the deity is accounted for in a similar way as that of Bholānāth. It is said that a mendicant falling in love with a courtier's wife got himself murdered along with the lady at the hand of a Lohār or blacksmith. Like Bholānāth and his companion the mendicant and his mistress became goblins and vexed the people, so that they built the temple and instituted a regular service in honour of these spirits.

Smaśāna, Khavīsh (or Preta)

"The demon smaśāna is usually found at burning grounds, which are as a rule placed at the confluence of streams and hence called maraghāṭ."[28] Smaśāna is supposed to be of a black colour and hideous appearance. Khavish resembles smaśāna in his malignant nature. It is a belief that he becomes a smaśāna or Khavīsh who dies either due to accident or some wasting diseases.

Both these demons possess many of the attributes of Chāmuṇḍā Devi. The preta is usually shown being trampled by Chāmuṇḍā in her sculptures.

Goril

Goril is also called Goriya, Gwel, Gwall and Gol. His reputation is much more and his popularity is unquestionable among the lower classes in Kumaon. He has temples throughout Kumaon. But his worship is more prevalent in the districts of Naini Tal and Almora than that in Garhwal and Tehri. He has

26. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 818.
27. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
28. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 821.

local names derived from some celebrated place or person like Śiva. Thus the Goril at Garura is known as the Iriyakot Goril and so are the others.

We do not know anything about his antiquity. There are, however, local legends about his origin that he knew about his past life because he was born of a mendicant woman, who was engaged in austerities and penance. As he was the son of a rājā he ascended the throne of Kumaon on attaining maturity. Due to his wisdom he became an object of worship during his life time and more after his death. It is believed that he was thrown in an iron cage in the river Gorigaṅgā (or Gaurī gaṅgā) by his step mothers during his childhood. He floated there and reached finally a fisherman's house where he was named as Goril after the river Gorigaṅgā. [29]

In some places a regular daily worship of Goril is held and assemblies meet on fixed dates to propitiate all the village deities. [30] Some small shrines are attributed to these gods near the villages or in the boundary for the protection of the entire village from calamities and several other bad effects.

Rāja-Rājeśvarī

This goddess has been in the state of worship by the petty rājā's of Garhwal from the ealry mediaeval times. They assemble at Dewalgarh in Garhwal twice a year, where her temple is situated, and pay their reverence. "The goddess is usually represented as seated on throne, the three feet of which rest on figures of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva." [31]

This is a most unusual representation. So it is difficult to explain clearly about the nature of this goddess. Instances of Gaṇeśa being trampled by the Buddhist deities come to us from Nepal and Tibet. The Mahāyāna Buddhist goddess Aparājitā is usually "represented two-armed and seated with

29. In the Himalayan Folklore the description is differently given. The author gives a different pedigree of the rulers of Champāwatgarh and connects the story with them. He is shown superhuman here also. He is said to have ruled over Champāwatgarh and was very much beneficent. See Gairola, T. D., *Himalayan Folklore*, Alld. 1935, pp. 156–57.

30. The whole ceremony is very interesting. The two professional Brāhmins known as Ghanṭuwā and Jagriyā (who can as well be a non-Brahmin) play major roles. They take the rice in hands and then shaking it about mutter some unintelligible mantras in local dialects. The Jagriyā and his assistant play a drum and bronze plate (thāli) and the relatives of the sick man or the sick person himself dance until one is supposed to be possessed by the bhūt. The person in this stage explains the cause of the bhūt's anger. The result is commonly that an offering of a kid or sweetmeats is to be made or temple repaired or built for the recovery of the sick man.

31. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 816.

one foot on Gaṇeśa". [32] When standing, her left foot is put on the left leg of Gaṇeśa, in which pose she is called Gaṇapatisamākrāntā. [33] Excepting this, we do not have any other instance of any god being trampled. The present representation from Dewalgarh might have been the influence of Tāntrism, which had once spread in the whole of north India including Kumaon.

In her present worship the gooddess is taken as the form of Durgā Since she was worshipped by the Rājās of Garhwal, [34] she was probably named Rāja-Rājeśvarī (which may mean the goddess of the Rājās).

The worship is generally performed during the "naurātri of Chaitra and Āṣāḍha and at the two harvest seasons." [35]

Kshetrapāla and other tutelary gods

This is a tutelary god of fields and boundaries. It is a beneficent deity, who does not normally force his worship on any one by injuring them or their crops. Every village has a small temple, often not more than a few feet square.

The description of the god comes in Suprabhēdāgama and Kāraṇāgama. The former recommends nāga yajnopavīta for the deity and a garland of skull on the head with triśūla, khaḍga, kapāla, kheṭaka etc. Rao had identified it with Bhairava. [36]

Kshetrapāla has a temple connected with Jāgeśwar grant as guardian of the sacred forest of Taṅkāra region. As the monuments at Jāgeśwar belong roughly to 9th and 11th century A. D., the shrine of Kshetrapāla may also be taken contemporary with this period.

Another tutelary god of cattle is Chaumu. It is taken as the protector of cows and other cattle. Yet another is Badhān, whose nature is the same as that of Chaumu.

Some of the kings of Katyuri dynasty have temples after their names. Particularly Rājā Dhāmdeva (a later Katyuri king) has a temple in Parganā Pālī of Kumaon. He is worshipped as a 'Kula-devatā' by some of the Joshī Brahmins of Kumaon and particularly by those of Pokharā in Garhwal.

32. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 43 (referred to in Chapter V).

33. *Ibid.*

34. The goddess is very popular in the area of Dewalgarh and is worshipped now as a family deity (or Kula-Devī) by the Kālā's of Sumārī in Garhwal.

35. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 816.

36. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, pt. II, pp. 496-98.

Nāga worship

Besides the worship of local deities, nāga (or serpent) is worshipped throughout Kumaon and Garhwal.

The antiquity of Nāga worship in India goes back at least a few centuries before the Christian era. The testimony of Greek writer Aelian "testifies to the existence of real serpent worship—the cult of live animal—in the Panjab during the fourth century B. C." [37] Fergusson is of the view that neither the Aryans nor the Dravidians were serpent worshippers and "any traces of serpent-worship that may be found in the Vedas or earlier writings of the Aryans must either be interpolations of a later date or concessions to the superstition of the subject races." [38] He further adds that Indian snake-worship was un-Aryan in its origin.

Whatever might have been the nature and antiquity of serpent-worship in India, it is proved by the discovery of terracotta figurines of nāgas at Sonpur, District Gayā in Bihar that the snake was well known to the people in about 7–6th century B. C. [39] Nevertheless, it cannot be said whether the serpent or its worship had attained popularity during those days.

About its antiquity in Kumaon, nothing definite can be said, but it may be assumed that it must have had a long antiquity here also. In 1877 Rivett Carnac noticed a few cup-markings along with figures of snake carved on the rocks in and around the region of Almora. [40] The above author has quite significantly attributed them to some 'nomadic race" [41]

The above view brings out a suggestion that these rock sculpturings may go back to the most ancient past and probably they were done by the aboriginals of Kumaon. Thus the snake worship may be a non Aryan institution in Kumaon, which was probably handed down to the more civilized people in the subsequent period.

The serpent became largely popular in all the religions. Apart from the Hindus, it found place in the Buddhist and Jaina mythologies. In the Buddhist

37. Vogel J. ph., *Indian Serpent-Lore*, London, 1936, p. 2.

38. Fergusson, J., *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 115.

39. *I. A. R.*, 1960–61, p. 5.

40. The present author has also examined one such sculpture of a snake carved on the rock near Kasār Devi in Almora. It is, still clearly noticed and appears to be considerably old.

41. Carnac, H. Rivett, "Rough notes on some ancient sculpturings on rocks in Kumaon similar to those found in monoliths and rocks in Europe", *J. A. S. B.*, XLVI, Pt. I, pp. 1–18, 1877.

literature the "dreaded serpent-demons are generally represented as devout worshippers of the Buddha." [42]

The Buddha and the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras are often associated with nāgas in their sculptural representations. In sculptures of the Gupta period, found at Sarnāth, the two nāgas suspended in the air 'half-bodied' empty their water-jars over the head of the infant Buddha, who is shown standing on his lotus. [43] With regard to the art of the Jainas, it should be noted that the Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha is distinguished by a snake-hood. According to a Jaina legend, it was the Yakṣa Dharaṇendra who spread his many hoods over the heads of the Arhat during a violent storm. "In all probability this story was modelled after the legend of Muchilinda." [44]

The Nāga worship is very common even today throughout Garhwal and in other parts of the Kumaon region. The Nāgadevatās are known by various names in Garhwal. Important among them are Beṇi-nāga, Karakoṭa nāga and Vāsuki-nāga. Out of them Karakoṭa holds a key position as he is worshipped in Kumaon, Nepal and Kashmir equally. There are actually many temples in Garhwal. "They are Vaiṣṇava temples to Śeṣa-nāga at Pāṇḍukeśvar, to Bhelaka-nāga at Ratgaon and to Sangal-nāga at Talor......to Bānpa-nāga at Margaon in Painkhaṇḍā; to Lahandeu nāga at Jelam in the Niti valley and to Puṣkara-nāga at Kshetrapāl Pokhari in Nāgpur." [45] More than this, there exists a tradition in Garhwal that the Nāgas once resided in the valley of Alakanandā.

The domestic worship of the Nāga is done more on the Nāga-Panchamī day, which falls during August-September every year. On this day the ground is freely smeared with cowdung and mud and figures of five, seven, or nine clay serpents are rudely drawn with sandlewood powder or turmeric. Lamps are lighted and waved before them, incense is burnt and food and fruits offered. This is repeated both in the morning and evening and in the night stories in praise of the Nāga are related. [46]

Buddhism

Besides the worship of the Brahmaṇical gods and goddesses, some parts of Kumaon were influenced by the Buddhism during the 7th century A.D. Srong

42. Vogel, *op. cit.*, 93.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
45. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 835.
46. *Ibid.* 836.

Tsang Gampo of Tibet employed a policy of expansionism in his frontier region. He was a staunch follower of Buddhism [47] and so along with other parts in side Tibet, he must have tried to proselytise the inhabitants of the border regions, which comprised the present day Garhwal and Kumaon.

Though we do not have a single instance of the following of this religion in Kumaon during the present century, we have to surmise about its existence here on the basis of the traditions and a few other direct evidences. There is one universal tradition regarding the visit of Śaṅkara to the Himalayan region and his driving out of the Buddhists and unbelievers and finally restoring the Brahmanical religion once again. Atkinson's remark in this connection is noteworthy: "In Kumaon, particularly as in Nepal, Śaṅkara displaced the Baudhamārgī priests of Paśupati at Kedar and of Nārāyaṇa at Badarināth."[48]

Besides, the remains of the Buddhism of Tibet or the Lāmāism are distinct in and around the region of Badarināth. But more than this the personal obsera vations of the author at Māṇā are important. On enquiry it was revealed that though the religion has totally disappeared today, the decaying tradition still survives in the form of stories that the village was once under the Buddhistic influence. We do not know as to when actually the transformation in the religious set-up of Māṇā took place. It can be, however, surmised that the extinction of the Tibetan Buddhism after the visit of Śaṅkara followed a gradual conversion of the people at Māṇā. And this ultimately resulted in the total disappearance of the Lāmāism from this part of Kumaon in the course of centuries.

The evidence about the Buddhism at Goviṣāṇa as given by Hieun-Tsang remains at present uncorroborative until the area is subjected to scientific excavations.

Jainism

We do not have evidence either literary or traditional about the exsitence of Jainism in Kumaon. Hieun-Tsang also remains almost silent about the faith in this region. But a few extant remains help us to believe that the religion was not totally unknown to people. A few Tīrthaṅkara images along with a multilated yakṣa on the mountain top and the Gujardeo temple

47. This Tibetan Buddhism or Lāmāism is more or less an extension of the Indian Buddhism Waddell remarks in this connection that there is not any radical transformation of Indian Buddhism by Tibetans. It is essentially and in details too the same as the popular later theistic or Mahāyāna (or "Great Vehicle") form of Buddhism which had developed early in India and which was predominantly current there between the seventh and twelfth centuries A. D. See Waddell, L. A., *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, Camb., 1939 p. XIII.

48. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

executed in Jaina taste [49] testify to the existence of Jainism in and around Dwārahāt. However, nothing can be stated about the other parts of Kumaon.

Conclusion

This brief appraisal proves that though the stronghold of Brahmanical gods and goddesses has remained comparatively superior from the ancient past, the local deities have also attained sufficient importance throughout Kumaon. Among the peasantry of the outlying parts, Viṣṇu is little known and Śiva is worshipped under the form of Bhairava or the liṅga, but the common resort in times of trouble or distress is Govil, Chaumu and other village gods. "The truth is that popular religion in the hills is the worhip of fear, though Bhagwān is named as the great god, he is supposed to allow mischievious and malignant spirits to injure the person and property of people. When famine and pestilence stalks abroad, the village temples are crowded and promises of oblations are made." [50] A tradition comes to us that during the Chand rulers of Kumaon the Kāli in Gangolihāṭ (Almora District) receievd human sacrifices. Atkinson remarks about this ritual that it has been borrowed from the Buddhist and the Śaiva Tantras. [51]

Whatever may be the local aspect of the religion of Kumaon, the land is most sacred due to the existence of the Badarī and Kedār. To the Hindus "the Kumaon Himalaya is what Palestine is to the Christian." [52] It is considered as the home of great gods and its visit as the great way to final liberation. The sources of Gaṅgā, Yamunā—the two sacred rivers of the Hindus—are taken to be very auspicious. This living belief persists even today resulting in the visit of these holy places every year by several thousand pilgrims.

49. Goetz, H., The Art of Chambā in the Islamic Period I, *J. O. I.*, Vol. XI, Dec. 1961, p. 137.

50. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 839.

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.* p. 703

CHAPTER VIII

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY AND CULTURAL ETHNOGRAPHY

The inscriptions and mainly the Copper-plate grants from Kumaon supply us data, which can really be utilised in the study of the historical geography and the cultural ethnography of ancient Kumaon. The material, though meagre, presents an interesting account of various terms namely, administrative, geographical and ethnological.

The study of these aspects may be summarily grouped under the following heads:

I. Administrative
II. Place names
III. Personal names.

All the aforesaid divisions are related with several components; hence an elaborate study of each of them will be necessary to build up an account.

I. *Administrative*

It may be sub-grouped in the following classes:

(a) The territorial units.

(b) The officers.

(a) *The territorial units*

Janapada

From almost all the available records of the Katyuris of Kumaon, we get references to various territorial units. For example, the terms *Janapada, Bhukti,* Viṣaya and *Pallikā* have been very frequently used to denote various territorial units.

The term *Janapada* connotes a province, More correctly it may be stated that it was "an important geographical term....which was both a state and a cultural unit, its culture counting more than its geography. Its cultural integrity was reflected and preserved in the manners, customs and above all the dialects of its people." [1]

1. Agrawala. V. S., *India as Known to Pāṇini,* Alld., 1932, p. 136.

Its antiquity goes back to Pāṇini, who used it for an existing geographical unit during his times.[2]

The reference to the term has also occured in the Arthaśāstra. It is used there for the "area covered by villages and towns of the whole kingdom except perhaps the capital......".[3]

Then in the edicts of Aśoka, we get this unit mentioned.

During the Gupta period, this term seems to have been replaced by another term Viṣaya, for both of them have been taken as signifying one and the same thing, though there are disagreements.[4]

The Katyuri rulers of Kumaon retained the older tradition and used the present term probably indicating a bigger unit as was done by Pāṇini for calling the countries of Kamboja, Gandhāra, Kapisa, Bālhīka, etc. as Janapadas.[5]

Bhukti

The term Bhukti means a province. During the Gupta period, "in the eastern part of the empire the following territorial units were current : grāma, viṣaya, bhukti, khaṇḍa and deśa."[6] The difference between Bhukti and viṣaya is that the Bhukti seems to have denoted a larger extent of the territory than a viṣaya. The Bhukti had its origin in the Gupta times, when the older models of administration was changed with a new nomenclature.

The governor of a Bhukti is known by various designations in the epigraphical records as Bhogika, Bhogapati, Goptā, Uparika-Mahārāja, Rājasthāniya, etc.[7]

Harṣa borrowed the same tradition.

In the Kumaon records also the same tradition is repeated, but the occurence of the term in epigraphs is met with only once.[8]

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2. His date has been roughly assigned from 7th to the 4th century B. C. See Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 456.
3. Dikshitar, V. R. R., *The Mauryan Polity*, 1932, p. 136.
4. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 496.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
6. Sankalia, *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarata*, Poona, 1944, p. 23.
7. Beni Prasad, *The State in Ancient India*, Alld., 1928, p. 295.
8. See *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII, p. 1056.

Viṣaya

From almost all the available records of the Katyuris, we get the term Viṣaya indicating some sort of territorial unit during their rule.

As regards the meaning of the term, it may be said that it signified probably a district in the modern sense of the term. Fleet has pointed out that it would mean...."a subdivision of a dēśa or maṇḍala."[9]

The antiquity of the term goes back to the times of Pāṇini. He has used it for denoting a 'province' called after its people. For example the region of the śibis is known as Śaiba; the region of the Mālwa people as Mālavaka. In the Aṣṭādhyāyī, thus, "the names according to viṣaya seem to be based on the ethnic distribution of population over particular areas for the time being without reference to the form of government." [10]

Though the Mauryan rulers did not designate the term for any of the administrative divisions, it is certain that the conception of the term prevailed during their times. Aśoka appears to have divided the administrative set-up of his kingdom into territorial divisions and sub-divisions. Thus there would have been the units, namely *Jānapada,* viśaya, āhār and Pradeśa. But "what terms were used to denote the territorial division and its subdivisions in Aśoka's time, we do not know."[11]

The term indicating a part of the administrative arrangement occurs in the Gupta inscriptions. And it appears that the unit viṣaya along with Bhukti, khaṇḍa, Dēśa, etc. were quite current in the eastern and central parts of their empire. In the Damodar copper plates the name occurs as "*kotivarsha viṣaya*" which was being governed (Saṁvyavaharati) by Kumārāmātya Vetra varman, appointed to this responsible post by *Uparika* Chirātadatta, the head of the Puṇḍravardhana bhukti", [12] who was finally under the glorious Kumāragupta.

The above reference thus indicates that the Gupta administration was divided into Bhukti (province), viṣaya (district) and grāma. [13]

After their decline, the succeeding powers continued the older administrative tradition of the Guptas. The Huṇa Toramaṇā had under him a viceroy

9. Fleet J. F., *C. I. I.*, Cal. 1888, Vol III, p. 32, 7.

10. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

11. Bhandarkar, D. R., *Aśoka*, Cal. 1925, p. 51.

12. Basak, R. G., "The Five Dāmodarpur Copper Plate Inscriptions of the Gupta period", *E.I.*, XV, p. 114.

13. *Ibid.*

ruling in the Airikina viṣaya. [14] Apart from the Huṇas, we get the same term used for a district during Harṣa's reign. [15]

It therefore appears that the same tradition was handed down to the rulers of Kumaon in the subsequent centuries and they also seem to have divided the kingdom into territorial divisions, as is clearly indicated by 'Karttikeyapura-viṣayē, Tangaṇapura-viṣayē, [16] etc.

Pallikā

In the Katyuri records the term occurs at least five times. Pallī or Pallikā is "invented after pal" [17] which means to go to move, etc. It seems to have no reference to it in the early Sanskrit literature, but the later use of the term signified a small hamlet; "a village of wandering herdsmen (ābhīra-pallī); of wild tribes; den of thieves or a house of Chāṇḍāla." [18]

According to Burrow and Emeneau, the word in Sanskrit has been borrowed from the Dravadian languages. In the *Tamil Lexicon,* [19] it means a temple, a small village, etc. The earlier reference to it is found in the Jaina canonical texts, especially in the Uttarādhyana Sūtra, [20] where it means a den of thieves.

The earliest portions of the Jaina canonical texts have been assigned roughly to 3rd century B. C. [21] The meaning of the term in literature does not, however, coincide with the later use in the inscriptions from various parts of India.

The use of the word is widespread. In Gujarat "the suffix palli or pallikā is met with for the first time in the Traikūṭaka record." [22] In Madhya Pradesh, the Vākāṭaka inscriptions and the Kalachūri records use the suffix at least four to five times.

In Kumaon records the use of the word seems to have carried the meaning for a small habitation.

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14. Ghoshal, U. N., *The Classical Age*, p. 347.
15. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 139 (referred to in Chapter II).
16. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 280.
17. Monier-Williams p. 610.
18. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
19. *T. L.*, Madras University, 1930.
20. *Illustrated Ardhamāgadhi Dictionary*. III, 528.
21. Winternitz, M., *History of Indian Literature*, V. II, Cal. 1933, p. 434.
22. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
23. Gokhale, S., *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Madhya Pradesh*, p. 87. (Thesis in the Deccan College and Poona University Libraries).

The officers

The inscriptions from Kumaon contain the terms denoting designation of officers. This helps us to know more about the administrative set-up of the region.

The first occurrence of such terms is met with in the Aśokan Rock-edicts at Kālsī. The officers are known as Yuktas, Lājukas (or Rājukas), Prādeśika and Mahāmātras. [24]

The Yuktas

During Aśoka, the class of these officers seem to have come under civil service. The name also occurs in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, [25] where the author has described about him more precisely. Kauṭilya draws our attention about the yuktas and upayuktas or their assistants. The duties of the yuktas seem to have been "largely secretarial work and accounting." [26] Bhandarkar is, however, of the view that they were "principally district officers who managed kings property, received and kept accounts of the revenue and had power to spend where expense was likely to lead to an increase of revenue." [27]

Almost all these views appear to be in conformity and it appears quite certain that they were entrusted with the task of revenue and account.

The Rājukas

Besides the yuktas, the Rājukas are mentioned in the Kālsi rock inscription. It appears that these officers also belonged to the "department of administration responsible for surveying and assessing land." [38] Scholars have identified them with the Rajjugāhaka in the Jātaka. [29] From it we know that he was in charge of measuring land and fixing boundaries by way of a cord. In the Arthaśāstra the term occurs as 'Corarajjuka', which denoted that he was a rural officer-connected with survey and land settlement. [30] Smith identifies the Rājukas with "high officers intermediate in rank between the governors and the district officers (prādeśikas). [31] It appears that the Rāju-

24. Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 32 (referred to in Chapter VI).
25. Book II, Chapter 9.
26. Thapar Romila, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, 1961, p. 109.
27. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
28. Thapar, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
29. *Ibid.*
30 Dikshitar, V. R. R., *The Mauryan Polity*, Madras, 1932, p. 51
31. Smith, V. A., *Aśoka*, Oxford, 1901, p. 148.

kas were given much of judicial powers to deal with the cases and they were the most important officers of the rural administration of Aśoka. Mookerji, however, feels that they "were probably in charge of the districts and corresponded to the district magistrates of the present day." [32]

Prādeśikas

In the Arthaśāstra we note a class officers of called the Pradeṣṭṛs, [33] who may be probably identified with the Prādeśikas. These officers were probably in charge of the entire administrative set-up of a particular province. "Much of their work consisted of touring." [34] But the term has been variously translated by scholars as the head of the executive, the revenue and judicial service, the divisional commissioner and the provincial "officers entrusted with jurisdiction over a specified area." [35] The Prādeśikas were probably at the head of the administration, though different opininons have been forwarded by the other scholars.[36]

The Mahāmātras

The precise meaning of the term is not certain. Several officers are referred to as the Mahāmātras. The term appears to have been used for high official or a dignitary only. In the Arthaśāstra the term is used to denote a minister. The officers under this category seem to have held different portfolios and some of them were held responsible for the general administration. Some of them were known as the Dhamma Mahāmātras. This indicates that these officers—quite different from the Anta Mahāmātras, who were in charge of the outlying provinces—were sent for the propagation of Aśoka's Dhamma in the neighbouring states. Mookerji believes that the Mahāmātras were probably the heads of special departments.[37] Whatever might have been the nature of their duty, it is quite certain that the Mahāmātra's were...a highly responsible cadre of officials and were doubtless greatly respected. [38]

Apart from the list of officials in the Aśokan inscription at Kālsī, there are several other terms in the records from Kumaon. Reference to them brings before us a notable administrative set-up under the rulers of the region.

32. Mookerji, R. K., "Aśoka the Great", *The Age of Imperial Unity*, 1953, p. 80.
33. Bk. I, Ch. 12.
34. Thapar. *op. cit.*, p. 106.
35. Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 221.
36. See *Ibid.* and Thapar, *op. cit.*, for details.
37. Mookerji *op. cit.*, p. 80
38. Thapar *op. cit.*, p. 102

The various chiefs are known in the records by the following names :

Mahākārtakṛtika

Mahāpratihāra

Mahādaṇḍanāyaka

In charge of administrative departments

Sāmanta
Kisoravadavago mahish yodhikrita
Daśāparādhika
Dāṇḍapāśika
Chauroddharaṇika
Āsedhabhangādhikrīta
Koṭṭa pāla
Khaṇḍarakshādhipati
Kārṇakika
Paṭṭākāpachārika
Ghaṭṭapāla
Śaulkika
Sthānādhikrita
Gaulmika
Gamāgamina

Head of the Militia or persons attached to it

Sarabhaṅga
Khāḍgika
Mahāsāmanta
Daṇḍika
Aśvapati

Foreign Department

Vyāparitaka
Preśṇika
Dūta

Palace officers and officers with princely lineage

Rājāmātya
Rājaputra
Kumāramātya
Rājadauvarika
Rājanyaka

Country and village officers and officers of the territorial units, etc.

Viṣayapati

Bhogapati
Rājasthānīya
Uparika
Prāntapāla
Mahattama
Mahamanuṣya
Sreshṭipurogan

Miscellaneous officers

Vartmapāla
Viniyuktaka
Tadāyuktaka
Tarapati
Aikākīsvāmina
Agnisvāmi
Sāśṭadaśaprakrityādhisthānīyana
Pratisūrika
Pilupati
Kulachārika
Abhitvaramānaka
Karika

Officers by profession and the warriors

Vaṇika
Ābhīra
Thakkura
Bhaṭṭa

The meaning of the terms and the nature of the duties of these officials require consideration.

Mohākārtakṛtika

This official designation occurs in almost all the plates from Pāṇḍukeśvar. Besides, the term occurs in the Gupta inscriptions and the Pāla inscriptions from Bengal, specially the Munghir copper plate uses it.

The meaning of the term appears to have indicated certain class of executive officer [39] or possibly superintendents or managers of state affairs. [40]

39. Ghoshal, U. N., "Administrative organisation–North", *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 242.
40. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

Mahāpratihāra

The word occurs in almost all the plates from Pāṇḍukeśvar. The official title has a long standing antiquity and occurs in the Gupta records. [41] It is met with again during the time of Harṣa [42] and finally the Pālas of Bengal [43] had appointed the officer of this designation during their rule.

The meaning of the word is variously given as the chief doorkeeper, perhaps chiefs of the palace guards [44] or chief warder or usher [45] or he could be also a dūta. [46]

Mahādaṇḍanāyaka

This designation appears in almost all the records from Pāṇḍukeśvar. This office may be "traced back to the time of the Kuṣāṇa emperors and the Ikshvāku king of Telugu country, was the controlling authority over the daṇḍanāyakas". [47]

It has been defined by scholars differently. In some cases it meant a general, while in others, a magistrate, a judge, etc. [48]

Sāmanta

The official title occurs in the Pāṇḍukeśvar copper plates quite frequently. Besides, it occurs in the Madhuban plate of Harṣa. [49]

The meaning of the term appears to have been a feudatory chief [50] or neighbouring tributary princes. [51]

Kisoravaḍavāgomahish yodhikrita

Besides the frequent occurrence of the term in the Kumaon records, we notice its mention in the Pāla inscriptions from Bengal.

The title appears to have signified the officer holding charge of colts, mares, cows and she-buffaloes. [52]

41. Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 296.
42. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
43. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 242.
44. Ghoshal, *The Classical Age*, p. 343.
45. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
46. Saletore, R. N., *Life in the Gupta Age*, Bombay, 1943, p. 296.
47. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 343.
48. Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, p. 985.
49. Leni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 295.
50. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 1006.
51. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 479.
52. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 283

Daśāparādhika

This title also occurs like the others in all the Pāṇḍukeśvar records. Besides, it also occurs in the Pāla records.

The meaning of the term remains doubtful. But it probably represented "an officer whose concern was with the ten aparādhas of which the king could take cognisance."[53] The other view also takes the term daśaparādha as carrying only a generic name for sins and in its administrative sense, only meaning judicial fines in general.[54] And therefore the official attached to the Department may rightly be taken as Dasparādhika.

Daṇḍapāśika

This means probably an officer-in-charge of punishment, i. e. criminal justice.[55]

The word occurs in the Gupta[56] period. And then during the 8th to 10th century A. D. the use is very frequent in Bengal, Chamba, Kashmir, Kumaon, etc. for indicating police officers or judicial officers "who are invested with the power of punishment."[57]

Chaurodharaṇika

It probably means a thief-catcher or one who exterminates thieves.[58] Besides its use in Kumaon records, it occurs in the Gupta inscriptions.[59] The use of the word is noticed in the records of the Maitrakas of Valabhi.[60] The Chamba inscriptions[61] also include this officer along with the list of other officers.

Āsēdhabhaṅgādhikrita

The word āsedha occurs in the Kātyāyana Smṛti in reference to the plantiff, who according to it is allowed "by a process called āsedha, to keep defendent under legal restraint till the arrival of kings summons."[62] Hence his work was probably to prevent flights from the prison.

The word does not occur in other inscriptions so frequently. In the Pāṇḍukeśvar plates, however, its use is quite frequent.

53. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 987.
54. Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 303.
55. Kane, *op. cit*, p. 986.
56. Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 301.
57. Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 405.
58. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 984.
59. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 218 and Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 301.
60. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 348.
61. Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 438.
62. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

Koṭṭapāla

He was probably an officer in charge of a fort,[63] though he has also been taken as the Kotawāla and Koṣapāla. [64]

The word is used in all the plates from Pāṇḍukeśvar. The Pratihāra rulers also used it in their records and we notice its use in the Pāla records also.[65]

Khaṇḍarakshādhipati

He was probably in charge of a small territorial unit or the royal engineer who looked after buildings falling in ruins. [66] In the Chamba inscriptions he is, however, assigned a household duty, which probably was a 'sword guard', [67] obviously belonging to the bodyguard.

Besides its use in the Kumaon and Chambā records, it is used in the Pāla inscriptions also. [68]

Karṇakika or Karaṇika

He was an officer-in-charge of a state department or office.[69] Other view is that the Karaṇika, who was in charge of Karaṇas or documents seems to have been a registrar[70] or a writer, a scribe, etc. [71]

The word karaṇika occurs in the Tāleśvar copper plate grants, which has been wrongly red as the 'Kāpālikas' [72] by the editor. The Gupta inscriptions use this word for the retinue of clerks. [73]

Paṭṭakāpachārika

It appears to have meant an officer to investigate offences against the royal edicts and charters. [74]

The use of the word is not frequently met with in the records from other parts of India.

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63. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 981.
64. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 480.
65. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 239.
66. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 283
67. Beni Prasad. *op. cit*, p. 438.
68. Kane, *op. cit*, p. 981.
69. *Ibid.*, p 979.
70. Beni Prasad, *op cit.*, p. 300.
71. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 242.
72. Gupte, *op. cit.*, p. 117 (Referred to in Chapter II)
73. Saletore, *op. cit.*, p 301.
74. Sircar, *op. cit.* p. 282.

Ghaṭṭapāla

The designation was probably used for the superintendent of landing places on river banks.[75] Other meaning of it has been taken to be one who guards the passes.[76]

The use of the word does not seem to be popular in other inscriptions. In the Kahla plate of Soḍhadeva belonging to Samvat 1134,[77] it occurs not as Ghaṭṭapāla, but Ghaṭṭapati.

Śaulkika

This was a superintendent of tolls or customs duties.[78]

The use of the word occurs in all the Pāṇḍukeśvar plates. Besides, the Gupta inscriptions also mention this officer.[79] Then the Pālas of Bengal[80] used the word in their inscriptions and finally we notice its use in the Chamba inscriptions.

Sthānāḍhikṛta

He was probably a Thānādār i. e. superintendent of police out-posts.[81]

The use of the term is not found frequently in other inscriptions from India.

Gaulmika

The word has been variously defined. Fleet takes him to be a superintendent of woods and forests.[82] Sircar takes him to be a superintendent of police station.[83] Atkinson on the other hand has taken him to be a soldier.[84]

The word first occurs in the Gupta inscriptions. Then we see its use in the inscriptions of the Pālas and the Senas of Bengal.[85] Besides, the term has its use in the Chambā inscriptions.[86]

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75. *Ibid.*
76. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 480.
77. Kane, *op. cit.*, p 983.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 1005.
79. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
80. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 242.
81. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p 283.
82. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
83. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 283.
84. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 479.
85. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 982.
86. Beni Prasad, *op. cit.* p. 438.

Gamāgamina

It has also been variously defined. It is taken to be a political officer dealing with the exit from and entrance into towns.[87] Again it is taken to be some kind of a messenger.[88] The actual meaning is however uncertain.

Besides the Kumaon records, it also occurs in the Pāla inscriptions.[89]

Śarabhaṅga

It means probably a royal surgeon.[90] Other view takes him to be an archer.[91]

The use of the word is probably restricted to the Kumaon records.

Khaḍgika

It probably means a swordsman or its superintendent.[92] In this case also the use is restricted to the Kumaon records.

Mahāsāmanta

It means a commander-in-chief[93] or a great chieftain.[94] The later explanation may, however, be correct.

Apart from its use in the Kumaon records, it very often occurs in some of the other inscriptions. Particularly the Gupta inscriptions use it to signify a great chieftain.[95] Then it is noticed in the Harṣa inscription and finally in the Pāla records.[96]

Daṇḍika

The term is taken to be for a mace-bearer or probably a police officer.[97] Other view takes it to be a chastiser,[98] while the other same as the Daṇḍapāśika.[99]

The term has its use from the Gupta period onwards. Then it is used in the Pāla inscriptions and finally in the Chambā records.

87. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 283.
88. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 982
89. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 982.
90. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 283.
91. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 479.
92. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 283.
93. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 479.
94. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 1000.
95. *Ibid.*
96. *Ibid.*
97. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 479.
98. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 283.
99. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 986.

Aśvapati

He was a commander of cavalry.

Vyāparitaka

It was probably used for the foreign secretary or ambassador.[100]

The use of the term has not been very frequent. But in the inscriptions from the Deccan, Vyāpritaka is the designation of one of the local officers.[101] It cannot, however, be stated as to what were the duties assigned to him.

Preśnika

This seems to have been an officer-in-charge for sending messengers.[102]

The use of it is restricted to two records from Kumaon. Elsewhere it is not seen at all.

Dūta

He is a messenger or envoy. The use of the term has been very frequent and its antiquity goes far back. The *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* mentions Dūtas.[103] In the 13th Rock-edict of Aśoka at Shāhabāzagarhi, there is a 'duta' who was entrusted with diplomatic agency. His mission was probably to spread peace and goodwill between respective states and the empire.[104] In the Gupta period, the term came to be known as dūta or dūtaka.[105] Later on it is found in all the successive periods.

Rājāmātya

He was probably a King's-minister or a counsellor of the Rājā.

Its occurrance is met with first in the Prākrit form in the Nāsik inscription as Vāyamaca.[106] Later on it occurs in the Gupta inscriptions and finally in the Pāla records.[108]

Rājaputra

Literally it means a prince, but the use of the term in some of the inscriptions has signified a technical meaning for some officer such as the 'nobleman or the knight.'[109]

100. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 479.
101. Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 417.
102. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 283.
103. Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
104. Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 181.
105. Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 295.
106. *E. I.*, VIII, p. 91.
107. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 218.
108. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 242.
109. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 1003.

It occurs in the Gupta inscription No. 46.[110] Then all the Pāla records use it and finally the Chambā inscriptions contain the term.[111] All the Pāṇḍukeśvar records also use it.

Kumārāmātya

He is a high official below a provincial governor.[112] Other view takes him to be as the counsellor of a prince.[113] Sankalia believes that it may be a personal title derived partly from the past and partly from the present nature of the post. Thus the term Kumāramātya literally a 'minister of a prince' might have acquired the sense of a minister or 'officer.'[114]

It occurs in the A. P. I.[115] and in No. 46 of the Gupta inscriptions. Later on the Maitrakas of Valabhi[116] used this word in their inscriptions. Then the use is met with in the Chambā inscriptions.[117] In Kumaon, it is used in all the plates.

Rājadauvārika

It may mean a palace guard.

It occurs in the Tāleśvar copper plate grants. Excepting this, the use is noticed nowhere in the inscriptions.

Rājanyaka

It means probably a prince.[118] Its antiquity goes back to the Vedic times. "In the Ṛgveda, the term Rājanya denotes both the royal and noble families."[119] It therefore means a chief of the noble family.

Aprrt from its occurrance in the Kumaon records, it is used in the inscriptions from Bengal.[120]

Viṣayapati

He was the head of a viṣaya corresponding roughly to a modern district. Though the institution, as already stated, has a fairly long antiquity, for the

110. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 218.
111. Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 420.
112. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 993.
113. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 16 n. 7.
114. Sankalia, *The Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 195, n. 2.
115. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 16, n. 7.
116. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 348.
117. Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 437.
118. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 479.
119. Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 451

designation seems to have occured in the Gupta times. The term has been used in all the inscriptions of later times also.

Bhogapati

"One responsible for the collection of the Bhoga or the state share of the land produce taken in kind as a rule one-sixth.". [121] Fleet was, however, of the opinion that "in the inscriptions it is a technical official title, possibly connected with the territorial terms bhoga and bhukti". [122] In Kumaon records it seems to have meant for officers in charge of jāgirs also.

The word has occured frequently in all the inscriptions from the Gupta period onwards.

Rājasthānīya

It denotes literally an officer who had to deal with other Rājasthanas or kingdoms or a foreign secretary. [123] It appears that it actually meant a viceroy or governor.

Its use is wide in almost all the inscriptions after the Gupta period. In Kumaon records it was probably used for governors or land-lords. [124]

Uparika

He seems to have been an officer somewhat like a provincial governor. [125] The term occurs in the Dāmodar copper plate. As already stated, Uparika was selected by the king himself. He is sometimes styled as Mahārāja and Rājaputra. However, the other view takes him to be a revenue officer. [126] But the former seems to be correct.

From the Gupta period onwards the use of the word is very common in the inscriptions.

Prāntapāla

He was probably a guardian of the frontiers. [127]

The word does not occur so frequently. Besides the Kumaon records, we notice the use in the Pāla inscriptions. [128]

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121. Tripathi, *op cit.*, p. 140.
122. Fleet, *op cit.* p. 18.
123. Bhagawan Lal Indraji, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 82.
124. Sircar, *op cit.*, p. 283.
125. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 978.
126. Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 297 and 299.
127. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 480.
128. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

Mahattamas

Its meaning is uncertain. It was, however, a village headman [129] according to one view. The use of the word is noticed in Kumaon and the Pāla records equally. [130]

Mahāmanuṣya

Literally, it means a great man, a noble. Atkinson has, however, opined that it means a village headman. [131]

The term, excepting in the Kumaon records, does not occur anywhere.

Śreṣṭhipurogān

This term is again an exception in the Kumaon inscriptions. It may, however, mean the chiefs of city guilds (chaudhris), [132] etc.

Vartmapāla

This word also seems to be strictly confined to the Pāndukeśvar Plates.

It means probably the superintendent of roads [133] or probably the manager of the dharmaśālās.

Viniyuktaka

It is an officer whose functions are not clear. However, it appears that he was an assistant something like a secretary of the divisional officers, the Bhogikas and Viṣayapatis.[134] Another view takes him to be a subordinate ruling officer appointed not by the crown, but by the governors or the viceroys. [135]

The word occurs right from the Gupta period [136] onwards. Especially in the Pāla inscriptions, it is quite common. [137]

Tadāyuktaka

He was also probably like Viniyuktaka and was appointed by the governors.

The use of the word occurs in the Pāla and the Kumaon records only. [138]

129. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 283.
130. Ghoshal, *op.cit.*, p. 242.
131. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 480.
132. *Ibid.*
133. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 283.
134. Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 439.
135. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 283, n. 3.
136. Fleet, *op cit.*, p. 169, n. 5.
137. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 242.
138. *Ibid.*

Tarapati

He was taken to be superintendent of all ferries.[139] Besides the use in Kumaon, it is noticed in the Pāla records and also in the Chambā inscription.[140]

Aikākisvāmina

The meaning is not known. It occurs only in the Tālesvar copper plates.

Agnisvāmina

It may probably mean the fire officer, i. e. one who is in charge of extinguishing the fire.

It occurs only in the Tālesvar copper plates.

Sāshta daśaprakrityadaisthāniyan

It cannot be specifically explained. However, Atkinson opined that he was probably a superintendent of the eighteen departments.[141]

Apart from the Pāṇḍukeśvar plates, it occurs in the Chambā plate of Somavarmadeva and Āsaṭadēva.

Pratisūrika

The meaning cannot be explained specifically. However, he was possibly a superintendent of gladiatorial combats,[142] in which Pratisūras (literally opponents) i. e. prize-fighters took part.[143]

Pilupati

Pilupati was probably the head of elephant riders.

It occurs in the Tālesvar copper plate grants. Besides, its use is noticed in the inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūtas of Berar[144] and in some other inscriptions from Nāgārjunakonda and Bengal.[145]

Kulachārika

It is again a new term. Kulika,[146] Kulapati and Kulaputraka[147] have, however, occured in the inscriptions All the terms meant officer-in-charge of

139. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 985.

140. Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 439.

141. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 480.

142. *E.I.*, Vol. XVII, p. 12.

143. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 283 and 285.

144. Gokhale, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

145. *E. I.*, XII, p. 6.

146. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 980.

147. Beni Prasad, *op.cit.*, p. 308.

villages, who was probably granted a 'kula' of land for his salary. The use of kulachārika in the Tāleśvar copper plate may therefore mean a village headman.

Karika

It cannot be definitely explained. However, it may mean a mason.

Vaṇika, Abhira and Thakkura

Vanika was a merchant. Abhira was an Āhira or cowherds. Thakkura was a Thākura.

It appears that these were mere titles after professions and they had no official status However, Sankalia has pointed out their use during the Chālukyan period in Gujarat. Thakkura was one of the officers.[148]

Besides designatory terms, the records give us a list of the place-names. The study of place names is highly significant from the point of view of cultural and social history of a particular region.

Place names in Kumaon have been studied as follows :

(i) The group of place names according to their suffixes.

(ii) The significance of place names by analysing as far as possible their name-contents.

(iii) Conclusions.

The following suffixes are used in the place names from the region of Kumaon. They are āśrama, bhūtika, grāma, gartta, koshṭa, koṭṭa. pallī, pallikā, pura, purī, sthalī, sārī, toli, vaṭaka.

These suffixes fall under the following groups :

(i) Those denoting village or town.

(ii) Those indicative of small settlements.

(iii) Those denoting forts, landscape, etc.

(iv) Those after the birds, religious places, rivers, etc.

Suffixes indicating village or town

The suffixes falling under this category are grāma, pura, puri, etc.

Grāma means a village. It occurs right from the Ṛgvedic times. In *Taittrīya Samhitā*[149] the words grāma and 'araṇya' have been contrasted with

148. Sankalia, *A.G.*, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

149. Keith and Macdonall, *Vedic Index*, p. 432.

each other in their own meaning. Pāṇini mentions separately the villages and towns (...grāmanagarāṇām (VII. 3. 14.). [150]

There are at least fifteen place names suffixed with grāma in the Tāleśvar and the Pāṇḍukeśvar charters.

Pura

The suffix 'pura' has also its antiquity right from the Ṛgvedic times. It is "a place containing large buildings, surrounded by a ditch and extending not less than one kos in length." Pāṇini uses the suffix "as an ending in the...names of towns." [151]

There are at least ten instances of the occurrence of this suffix in the Tāleśvar and the Pāṇḍukeśvar charters.

Purī

The word 'purī' appears to have the same meaning. Sankalia also opines that the suffixes pura and purī denote a town or city. [152]

The suffix 'purī' has been used three times in the Kumaon records.

Suffixes indicating small settlements

The suffixes falling under this category are pallī and pallikā. They have been already described in the preceding pages.

Suffixes denoting forts, landscape, etc.

Under this category falls the suffixes koṣṭha, koṭṭa, sthalī, etc.

Koṣṭha and Koṭṭa

It probably means a store house[153] or a place surrounded by four walls.

Koṭṭa is probably koṭa, which is a Dravidian word signifying a stronghold.

The use of the word Koṭa is noticed in the inscriptions from the [154] Deccan and Madhya Pradesh. [155]

The use of these suffixes is not found much in the Kumaon records. Hardly three instances of the use are with us. However, the use has been more

150. Monier-Williams, p. 635.

151. Agrawala, *op.cit.*, 64.

152. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

153. Whalley, P. "Place-names in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh", *J.U.P.H.S.* II, Pt. II, p. 41.

154. Mulay S., *Historical Geography and Cultural Ethnography of Deccan*, p. 70. (Thesis in the Poona University and Deccan College Libraries).

155. Gokhale, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

frequent during modern times, because the term appropriately fits in the mountainous set-up.

Sthali

According to Sankalia, it "by itself suggests a high-lying country, an eminent table-land, or dry land as opposed to a damp low land." [156]

The Mahābhārata, Harivaṁsa and the Jaina and Pāli literature use the word in this sense [157] of a natural (akṛtrima) dry land. [158]

The use is found in the Valabhi and Solanki records. [159] In Kumaon, however, there is only one instance of the use of this word.

Suffixes after birds, rivers, religious places, etc.

Under this class fall the suffixes Sāri and āśrama.

Sāri

According to Monier-Williams Sāri means Sārika, a kind of bird.[160] But Sār means, in the present use, an enclosure, a village property and its management.[161]

The use of the word has been noticed at least three times in the Kumaon records.

Āśrama

It means a hermitage, the abode of ascetics. [162]

The use of the suffix has been done four times in the Tāleśvar and Pāṇḍukeśvar charters. For example, the word Badarikāśrama occurs in the Pāṇḍukeśvar charters at least three times.

Miscellaneous suffixes

Under this class fall garttā and Vaṭaka and bhūtika and Toli.

Gartta. It means a hollow. [163] In Kumaon records the use has been noticed four times.

Pāṇini has used certain place-names ending with garta. They are Bhūg-

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156. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
157. Monier-Williams, *op.* 1261-2.
158. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
159. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
160. Monier Williams, p. 1209.
161. Whalley, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
162. Monier Williams, P. 158.
163. Ibid., p. 349.

arta and Chakragarta. Agrawala has taken these two terms to indicate "the peculiarity of the natural terrain formed by undulating loessic dunes."[164]

It appears that its use in the Kumaon records meant for the place which was situated in depression.

Vāṭaka

Usually we notice Vāṭaka frequently in the records from different parts of the country. This Vāṭaka connotes in Sanskrit[165] and Pāli a temporarily enclosed place. It may be a "garden plantation or an enclosure of a (low caste) village consisting of boundary trees." [166] However, in Kumaon records it is vaṭaka and not Vāṭaka. Here it has probably taken after the vaṭa or the banyan tree. The tree is taken to be auspicious in Kumaon like the other parts of the country.

Bhūtika

It means a plant of camphor. [167]

Toli

It is probably derived from Tola (a weight). The use of the word probably denoted the quantity of the seed sown in a particular field. Several land pieces in Kumaon and Garhwal are known by this name even during these days.

The retention of the old suffixes in the modern place names is not found much in Kumaon and Garhwal. However, a few examples of this nature can be cited.

In the case of grāma, it has changed into 'gaon'. But the place names ending with the present suffix are either unidentifiable or devoid of the suffix gaon. For example Garudagrāma occuring in the first plate from Pāṇḍukeśvar has abandoned the suffix grāma or gaon and is known now by the name Garuda only.

Gartta and Koṣṭha are also not used. However, Koṭṭa has changed into Koṭa.

Pallī or Pallikā is changed into Pālī. Some of the villages in Garhwal are known only as Pālī during these days.

Puri and pura have been retained in many of the modern place-names. For example, there are Rāmpura in Garhwal and kolāpuri in the border of Garhwal and Almora districts.

164. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
165. Monier Williams, p. 939.
166. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
167. Monier Williams, p. 763.

Sthali is nowhere retained in the modern place names. However, sāri- and toli are quite common in Garhwal and Kumaon. For example there is a village in Garhwal by the name Parsāri. Toli also ends even now in many cases. For example, there are places known in Garhwal as Dudhātoli and Martoli.

The use of vaṭaka does not exist today.

Classification of the names

Besides the description of the suffixes, the classification of place-names according to their content is somewhat difficult. Several of the names occuring in records from Tāleśvar and Pāṇḍukeśvar do not have any meaning in the dictionary. So the interpretation of various place names may be taken as provisional without any finality. The names may be classified as those after the deities, after fruits, trees, flowers and forests and plants, after tribes, profession, after birds and a few miscellaneous names.

After the names of the gods, there appears to be many. They are after Śiva, Brahma, Kārttikeya, Varuṇa and Kapila, etc. For instance, there are Brahmapura, Kārttikeyapura, Śiva-mushichyāpuri, Varṇāśrama, Chandra-pallikā, Devakhāl and Anangālagartta in the records.

Besides, there are names after the trees, flowers, fruits, plants, etc. Examples may be cited of Ambapālikā, Bilvaka, Champakatoli, Ḍādimikā, Nimvasāri, Tryamvapura, Udumbravāsa and Badarikāśrama.

Two examples after the names of the tribes are also known to us. They are Sakinnarā probably after the Kinnaras and the other Bhūta-pallika after Bhoṭa or the Bhoṭiyas.

Then we have a few instances of the names after the profession of the inhabitants. For instance, there are Suvarṇakāra-pallikā after the goldsmiths, Varddhi-pallikā after the carpenters and Bhaṭṭa-pallikā after the Brahmaṇas.

The names after the birds are hardly two. They are Atvalaka meaning a duck and Garuḍagrāma after Garuda.

Names after personal names are also found in the records. Thy are Devadāsatoli, Durgābhatta, Harṣapura, Jayabhaṭṭa-pallikā, Mamadatta and Subhikshapura.

But there are a few names falling under miscellaneous group. A few examples may be cited of Ariṣthāśrama, Bhelamastaka, Chiddaragarttā, Chadavaka, Gorunnāsārī, Jayakula-bhukti, Kākasthalikā, Kollapuri, Nambaranga-grāma, Ravva-pallikā, Sisankaṭa, Tapovana Thappalasārī, Yoyokāgrāma, yosi and several others. The identification of place names with the modern Names in Kumaon and Garhwal cannot be precisely done. However, efforts have been made to suggest a provisional identification for many of them.

List of Place-names and their identification with modern Names

Inscriptional Placenames	*Reference*	*Period*	*Locality (District)*	*Identification*
Anangalagartta	T.C.P-A[168]	6th century A.D,	Naini Tal	
Anvārigantika	P.C.P.-IV[169]	C. 10the century A.D.		
Ariṣthāśrama	T.C.P.A.	6th century. A. D.		
Antaraṅga	P.C.P.-IV	C. 10th century A.D.	Garhwal [170]	
Brahmapura	T.C.P-A	6th century A.D.	Naini Tal, Dhikuli	
Badarikāśrama	P.C.P. II	9th century A.D.	Garhwal	Badarināth
Bhelamastaka	T.C.P.-A	6th century A.D.	Naini Tal	Bhela [171]
Bilvaka	T.C.P.-A	6th century A.D.	Garhwal	Bilva-Kedāra
Bhaṭṭi-pallika	T.C.P.-A	6th century A.D.	Almora	Bheti or modern Bhati-serā in Srinagar, Garhwal
Bahiraṇy-pallika	T.C.P.-A	6th century A.D.		
Chandra-pallika	T.C.P.-A	6th century A.D.	Naini Tal	Chandpur near Raman-agar
Champaka-toli	T.C.P.-B	6th century A.D.	Naini Tal	Champha, 5 miles west of Chaubatiya
Chorapāṇi	T.C.P.-A.	6th century A.D.	Naini Tal	Chorapāni in Ramanagar
Chorakaṭaka	T.C.P.-A.	6th century A D.	Naini Tal	probably Choragalya
Devakhāla	T.C.P.-B.	6th century A.D.	Naini Tal	Devikhāl in Bhikiyāsena
Dūrvashaṇḍake	T.C.P.-B	6th century A.D.		
Dādimika	T.C.P.-A.	6th century A.D.	Almora	Dadmi Village in Subakot

168. Tāleśvar copper Plates A and B.

169. Paṇḍukeśvar copper plates I, II, III and IV.

170. Atkinson suggested about Antaranga-Viṣaya that it lay in the Doab between the Bhāgirathi and the Alakanandā. This appears to be correct.

171. Several of the names like this have been identified with the help of 1"=1 mile survey maps.

Inscriptional Place-names	*Reference*	*Period*	*Locality (District)*	*Identification*
Devadāsaṭoli	T.C.P.-B.	6th century A.D.	Almora	Devaldhār near Bāgeśwar
Durgābhaṭṭa	P.C.P.-IV	10th century A.D.		
Drumati	P.C.P.-III	9th century A.D.	Garhwal	Dumka near Joshimath
Dīpapuri	T.C.P.-A.	6th century A.D.		
Harṣapura	P.C.P. IV	10th century A.D.	Garhwal	
Garuḍagrāma	P.C.P.I.	9th century A.D.	Almora	Garura in Baijnath
Jyorāna	T.C.P.-A.	6th century A.D.	Naini Tal	Jhirna, about 16 miles east of Ramanagar
Jayakulabhukti	B.I. [172]	9th century A.D.		
Kārttikeyapura	P.C.P. (all-plates)		Almora	Modern Katyūr
Kapilagartta	T.C.P.-A	6th century A.D.	Naini Tal	Kapileśwar
Karvīragartta	T.C.P.-A	6th century A.D.	Naini Tal	Karbar Ghāṭi
Karvirakoṣtha	T.C.P.-A	6th century A.D.	Naini Tal	Probably near Ramnagar
Kākasthalikā	P.C.P.-III	9th century A.D.	Garhwal	Probably modern Thāli near Joshimath
Kanthārapavva	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.		
Kollapuri	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.	Almora Kolāpuri	
Krodaśūrpi	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.	Naini Tal	Sūpi, 13 miles south of Almora town
Khandāka-pallika	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.	Garhwal	Probably modern Kāndā-village or Khandāh near Srinagar, Garhwal
Kaṭabhristhi	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.		
Koṇakalikā-gangā grāma	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.		
Karakkoṭa	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.	Naini Tal	Karakoṭa Dhar, 11 miles south of Ramagarh

172. B. I.=Bāgeśwar Inscription.

Inscriptional Place-names	*Reference*	*Period*	*Locality (District)*	*Indentification*
Lavaṇodaka	T.C.P.B.	6th century A.D.	Almora	Lavaṇasāri
Mahāsāla	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.		
Mammadatta	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D		
Madhyamapuraka	T.C.P.B.	6th century A.D.		
Nimbasāri	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.		
Nambvanga grāma	P.C.P. IV	10th century A.D.		
Parigrāma	P.C.P. IV	10th century A.D.		
Palibhutika	P.C.P. I	9th century A.D.		
Patalikāgrāmaka	T.C.P.B.	6th century A.D.	Almora	probably Patalibagadh (on way to Kedarnath)
Pitrigaṅga	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.	probably in Garh-wal.	A river existing in olden-times.
Pallivataka	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.	Almora	Pallyu village near Someśwar
Prabhila pallikā	T.C.P.B.	6th century A.D.		
Rāyyaka toli	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.		
Randhavakagrāma	P.C.P. III	9th century A.D.		
Ravvapallikā	P.C.P. IV	10th century A.D.		
Sisankata	P.C.P. IV	10th century A.D.		
Samēkhakagrāma	P.C.P. IV	10th century A.D.		
Sādhutuṅgakagrāma	T.C.P.B.	6th century A.D.	Almora	Tungeśvara
Stambhasarikatika	T.C.P.B.	6th century A.D.		
Sorā	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.	Naini Tal	Saur 19 miles west of Ramanagar or sor village in Pithoragarh
Srigālakhohṇaka	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.		
Simsapikā	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.		
Sivamuschichyāpuri	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.		

Inscriptional Place-names	*Reference*	*Period*	*Locality (District)*	*Identification*
Suvarṇakārapallikā	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.	Naini Tal	Sonārkholā, 7 1/2 miles north of Mukteśvar
Subhikshapura	P.C.P. IV	10th century A.D.	Almora	Probably near Baijnath
Tryamvapura	T.C.P.B.	6th century A.D.		
Tapovana	P.C.P. (all plates)		Garhwal	Tapoban near Joshimath
Thappalsāri	P.C.P. II	9th century A.D.	Almora	Thāpla near Bāgeśwar
Udambaravāsa	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.		
Uṣṭralamaka	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.		
Ulika	P.C.P.I.	9th century A.D.	Almora	Porbably Oli village near Someśwar
Varuṇāśrama	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.		
Vardhika-pallikā	T.C.P.A.	6th century A.D.		
Vareśikāgrāma	P.C.P. IV	10th century A.D.		
Yoyikagrāma	P.C.P. IV	10th century A.D.	Garhwal	Joshimath
Yosi	P.C.P. IV	10th century A D	Garhwal	Joshimath

Personal names

The cultural significance of personal names has already been stressed by scholars like Kane [173] and Sankalia. [174] The rules of naming a child have been elaborately dealt with in the Gṛhya-Sūtras.

From the study of Kane, it seems that the literary data pertaining to the names fall into four periods. It is (1) Vedic, (2) Sūtra, (3) Smṛti and (4) Nibandha.

Vedic Period

In the Vedic literature, there are a few instances of three names for one person. The first is his ordinary name, the second, a derivative from Purukutsa (his father's name) and the last derived from Girikṣita (a gotra [175]). But usually we come across with two names. One of them was his own personal name and the other his gotra name.

The names after the Vedic deities are very rare.

Sūtra Period

The Gṛhya-Sūtras contain specific rules about naming the person. They fall into three classes. The first one is represented by the description in the Āśvalāyana [176] and the Āpastambha[177] Gṛhya-sūtras.

In the second, there are Hiraṇyakeśi, [178] Bhāradvāja,[179] Gobhila, [180] Śankhāyana, [181] Baudhāyana, [182] Khādira [183] and Mānava. [184] "According to some, a secret name may be given at the time of birth, and the other after 10 days, 12 days, 100 days or a year." [185]

The third comprises Pārāśara and Baudhāyaniya [186] Gṛhya-śeṣa-

173. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, P. 98.
174. Kane, P. V., "Naming a Child or a Person, *I. H. C.*, XIV, pp. 224-44.
175. *Ibid.*, P. 226.
176. 1-15, *S. B. E.*, Vol. 29, 183,
177. 15. 8-11, *S. B. E.*, Vol. 30, 282-283.
178. *S. B. E.*, Vol. 30, 214.
179. Kane, *op. cit.*, P. 232.
180. S. B. *E.*, Vol. 30, 57.
181. 1. 24. 4-6, *S. B. E.*, Vol. 29, 50.
182. Kane, *op. cit.*, (II. 1. 23-31), 233.
183. II. 2. 30-31, *Ibid.*, 231.
184. *Ibid.*, 233.
185. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
186. Kane, *op. cit.*, 234 (I. II. 4. 18).

Sūtra. They lay down that the nāmakaraṇa should be on the 10th or 12th day and the name should be after nakṣatra; and the second at upanayana should add a Brahmin's name with śarman, varman for a Kṣatriya's, gupta for vaisya's and bhṛtya or dāsa for sūdras.[187]

Smṛti Period

Manu has given only two rules for naming :

(i) "The name of a Brāhmaṇa should be indicative of a maṅgala; of a kṣatriya strength, of a vaiśya wealth and of sūdras lowness."[188]

(ii) The names of the Brāhmaṇa king, a vaiśya and sūdra should be joined with upapāda (suffix) indicating their varied nature.

The *Mitākṣara*, a commentary on the *Yājñavalkya smṛti*[189] speaks about Saṅkha, who says that a father should give a name connected with a family deity.

This brief review of the rules for naming a person in different periods thus presents a social system prevalent in those days.

The inscriptions from Kumaon do contain a few names. It is worth enquiry whether they follow the rules enjoined in the Gṛhya-Sūtras and Smṛtis.

A critical study of them brings out few interesting facts. There are names of the ruling kings and queens, the names of the Brahmaṇas, names of the officials and names of some other persons connected with the records.

Significance of the names of the
Dynasty of Brahmapura
The Second Lākhāmaṇḍal dynasty

There are five rulers in the Brahmapura dynasty. Viṣṇuvarman appears to have been the founder of the dynasty. The name of the son is Vriṣavarman. Both the father and son have their names after Viṣṇu and Śiva, which shows that the dynasty was a devotee of Viṣṇu as well as of Śiva. The other names are Agnivarman, Dvijavarman and Dyutivarman. The first name is after agni, the second after 'dvija' a twice born or a Brahmaṇa and the third term dyuti carries a personal attribute.

The suffix varman suggests the kṣatriya origin. In this way it strictly follows the rules laid down in the Gṛhya-Sūtras. The suffix varman may suggest another interpretation that the dynasty probably claimed or liked to be regarded as kṣatriya.

187. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
188. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
189. *Ibid.*

The first dynasty of Lākhāmaṇḍal

The rulers of this dynasty have their names after Śiva, Kārttikeya and a few after personal attributes. The first name Jayadāsa signifies victory. Then there is Guheśa, a name after the epithet of Kārttikeya.[190] Achala indicates immovability. By other meaning, it is also the name of Śiva. Chhāgalesa is probably after Chhagala, the name of Atri muni. Finally Rudreśadāsa indicates that the ruler was the devotee of Rudra or Śiva.

The suffix dāsa suggests that the dynasty was probably a non-Brahmanical one. However, it may also be surmised that they named them so indicating their great devotion to gods.

The founder of the dynasty is named as Senavarman probably after the word Senā or the army. Next is Āryavarman, which is after the Aryan tribe. Dattavarman may be after the god Dattātreya. Pradīptavarman is after a personal attribute, which means lustre, splendor or brilliance.[191] Iśvaravarman is after the Iśvara–the supreme, especially Śiva. Vriddhivarman suggests prosperity, success or advancement. Singhavarman is after Siṁha or the lion, which suggests power, valour or strength. Jalavarman is after jala, which may mean the richness or the wealth. Yajñavarman is derived from yajña, which means a sacrifice, rite or ceremony. Kapilavardhana is after the sage Kapila. Diwākarvarman is derived from Diwakar which means the sun god. Then Bhāskara is another name of Sūrya. Iśvarā is the name of Devi and lastly Chandragupta is after Chandra, the moon.

The suffix varman also indicates here that they were either the kṣatriyas in origin or they claimed so or liked to be regarded as the kṣatriyas.

The Katyuri dynasty of Kumaon

The first ruler has the name Vasudeva. It is stated elsewhere that he was the follower of the cult of Vasudeva–Krishna. Basantana, the founder of the dynasty at Kārttikeyapura is named after Vasanta, the spring. The name Kharpara is probably taken after a dish or the bowl. It is difficult to know the significance of this name, but it can be assumed that the king at the time of his birth was probably placed on a sūrpa (or winnowing basket).[192]

190. Monier-Williams, p. 294.

191. *Ibid.*, p. 341.

192. This practice is still in vogue in some parts of Kumaon. It is done just under the belief that a child will have longevity after he is put inside it. Such a child will always be given a name as Sūrpa or Supyā in the local dialect.

Adhidhaja is probably after the word adhi, which means over and above. The next part may have been dhwaja, which changed into dhaja later on. Thus the meaning of the name would be, a person, whose standard is over and above every body. Tribhuvanarāja means a ruler of the three world. The name Nimbarta has no significance and it appears that it was taken after the nimba or the nimbaka tree. Another name Istgaṇa may probably mean a god of the gaṇas. In other words, Śiva may be known by this name. Lalitasūra is after Lalita, which means sporting. The next name Bhūdeva literally means 'an earth god'.[193] It indicates power on the earth. The name Salonāditya is somewhat peculiar. Ichhaṭa, Deśaṭa and Padmaṭa are also peculiar. All of them have been named in the Kashmirian fashion, where usually the name ends in ṭa. For instance, there are names as Mammaṭa, Kaiyaṭa and Jejjaṭa. The last Ktyuri name Subhikshirāja is probably after Subhikā, which means a garland formed of flowers.[194] The entire meaning cannot be easily derived.

The suffix deva is found for the first time in the Pāṇḍukeśvar records. According to Monier-Williams deva is often used at the end of names of the Brāhmaṇas.[195] However, it is difficult to accept the view in the case of the Katyuri rulers, who were not Brahmaṇas. This epithet, besides the Katyuris, was used by the Kalachūris of Tripuri,[196] the Pālas of Bengal as also by the rulers of Nepal.[197]

Tha names of ladies of the royal household

The plates contain names of the ladies of royal household. There are such names as Iśvarā and Jayāvalī in the Lakhāmaṇḍal praśasti. The Pāṇḍukeśvar plates give a long list of royal ladies. They are Sajjyanara Devī Laddha Devī, Nāśu Devī, Vēga Devī, Laya Devī, Sāma Devī, Padmalla Devī, Singhū Devī, Singhūvalli Devī and Iśāna Devī.

The names of the queens of Katyuri dynasty are not totally Sanskritised. In many cases the corrupt form of Sanskrit is markedly visible.

All the names end with the epithet Devi as the name of the rulers end in Deva. This Deva or Devi epithet may also indicate here the prosperity and glory of the family.

193. Monier Williams, p. 715.

194. *Ibid.*, p. 1015.

195. *Ibid.*, p. 430.

196. Gokhale, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

197. Bhagwan Lal Indraji, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-53. (referred to in Chapter VI).

Names of the Brāhmaṇas

The Tāleśvar plates do not contain the names of the Brahmaṇas. The Lākhāmaṇḍal praśasti, however, gives a list of them. They are Bhaṭṭa Vasudeva, Bhaṭṭa Śkanda and Bhaṭṭa Kshemaśiva. In the Pāṇḍukeśvar records the names occur as Śripuruṣa, Bhaṭṭa Dhanasara, Nārayaṇadatta, Iśvaradatta and Āryatavata.

They are all Brahmaṇas is known by the suffix 'Bhaṭṭa' to every name. All of them are after the god's name. The Lākhāmaṇḍal praśasti contains the names of the Brahmaṇas after Śiva, Kārttikeya and Vasudeva–Krishna. The Pāṇḍukeśvar plates bear names, which have been taken either after personal attributes or after the gods. The first name Śrīpuruṣa indicates an illustrious person or it may mean the name of the god. Dhannasara is after Dhana or Dhanapati—the god Kubera. Nārāyaṇa and Iśvara indicate god Viṣṇu and the gods in general or Śiva respectively.

Names of officials and other persons

The Tāleśvar copper plates give us a few names as Varāhadatta, Viṣṇudās, Sūryadatta, Oddāla, Dhanadatta, Lavachandra, Naṇṇaka and Ananta. All of them are either officials or connected in the act of incising the grants All of these names are after the gods such as, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Ananta, Varāha, etc. But the names Lavachandra, Naṇṇaka and Oddāla present different explanation. Among them the last two appear to be the names of some low-caste persons. Naṇṇaka might have been probably derived from ṇa, which means knowledge, certainty, ascertainment, etc. [198]

Names of gods and goddesses

Apart from the popular names of gods and goddesses, there are a few names in the records from Kumaon, which are not known from anywhere else in India.

In the Tāleśvar charters, there are references to Vīrāṇeśvara–Svāmina and Ananta. The Lākhāmaṇḍal inscriptions refer to Nāgendratanayā, Bhava, while the Pāṇḍukeśvar copper plates give names as Dhūrjaṭī, the goddess Nandā, Mahēśvara and Chandraśekhare. The Bāgeśwar praśasti refers to Vyāghreśvaradeva and goddess Chandālamuṇḍā.

The name Vīrāṇeśvara–Swāmina is the name of Śiva. It appears to have been derived from Vīreśvara,[199] which is the epithet of Śiva or Vīrabhadra.

198. Monier–Williams, p. 863.

199. *Ibid.*, p. 955.

Ananta is Viṣṇu or Śeṣa. Nāgendratanayā is Pārvati, while Bhava [200] is again Śiva. Dhūrjaṭī is an epithet of Rudra-Śiva.[201] Nandā is the epithet of Gauri.[202] Mahēśvara and Chandraśekhara are both the two well known epithets of Śiva.

Conclusion

The inscriptions of Kumaon give us an insight into the administrative system, names of peoples and places.

The empire under the Katyuris was divided into viṣaya, bhukti and grāma or palli. The retention of the above institutions even after the Gupta period onwards clearly reflects that the tradition left by the Guptas was also accepted absolutely by the later dynasties of north India At least the case of Kumaon rulers is of this nature. As is seen earlier, the administrative set-up of the Pālas, which also resembled much the Gupta type, influenced the Kumaon administration in a larger context. And finally, we notice some resemblance of Kumaon administration to the administrative pattern of the rulers of Kanauj.

The grants cleraly indicate that the of land-pieces were donated to the Brāhmaṇas. For performing such acts, there were special officials mentioned in the records.

The copper plates from Tāleśvar as well as those from Pāṇḍukeśvar bear terms pertaining to the measurement of land. There are such terms as khārī, droṇa and kulyā in the former grants, while the latter charters contain droṇavāpa, nālikāvāpa, hastaka and khārīvāpa. The meaning of these words may be explained briefly. Khārī[203] is a measure of grain containing 16 droṇas. [204] A droṇa is equal to 32 seers.[205] Kulyā has been explained by Gupte meaning a channel for irrigation.[206] This is unacceptable. The word appears to have been popular during the Gupta period also.[207] But the meaning is uncertain. However, it may be assumed that it was probably derived from 'Kuli', which means the hand.[208] The present day substitute for it may be muṣṭi or 'muthi' which is still used in Kumaon. There are a few new words in the latter chart-

200. Monier Williams, 702.

201. *Ibid.*, 458.

202 It has still temples in Almora and Garhwal.

203. Khārī has still retained its older form even now.

204. Droṇa has also remained unchanged excepting that it has become doṇa or dūṇa in the present usage.

205. Monier-Williams, p 441.

206. Gupte, *op. cit.* p. 121, f. n. 1.

207. Salatore, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

208. Monier-Williams, p. 241.

ers. For instance, there is nālikavāpa, which probably meant a certain standard 'tubular vessel'.[209] Hastaka is a measurement equal to the elbow to the tip of the middle finger. The suffix vāpa in the terms of latter charters was usually "connected with sowing seed". [210]

The place and personal names supplied by these records are many. The second dynasty of rulers known as the Katyuris is the subject of interest. The significance of the name Katyura or Katyuri has remained a matter of speculation itself. Atkinson remarks regarding this that "the question whether the dynasty gave its name to the valley, whichever afterwards was known as Katyūra or the valley gave its name to the family who ruled in it is of some importance." [211] He further adds that the Katyura may be derived from that of the capital city, the Pāli form of which would be Kārttikeyapura, easily shortened into Kattikyūra and Katyura. But at once he changes his view and says that the resemblance between the name Katyura and that of their capital city is purely accidental.

The above observations are quite significant, but it should be noted at the outset that the name of the dynasty as Katyura or Katyuri never occurs anywhere else in their records. Hence it may be assumed that the name Katyuri came to be used in the later centuries. The word does not occur even in the Chand's records. Therefore, it is difficult to point out precisely as to when the word Katyuri was used for the first time.

The word Katyuri, as Atkinson also believed, was probably derived from Kārttikeyapura, the capital city of the dynasty. The name Kārttikeyapura is itself quite significant. In the A. P. I., as stated elsewhere, it is known by the name of Kartṛipura. This Kartṛipura would have been probably a Sanskritised form of the prākrit Kaṭṭipura, from which the words Katyur and Kārttikeyapura might have been subsequently derived.

Among the place names, a majority of them do not have the pure Sanskritised form. Therefore most of them are not understandable. However, the use of older suffixes, such as palli and grāma, has been done quite frequently.

It appears that most of the older place names have changed gradually. It is therefore difficult to identify the older ones with the modern names in Kumaon.

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209. *op. cit.*, p. 480.

210. *Ibid.*, p. 903.

211. Atkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 468.

CHAPTER IX

KUMAON AND INDIA : AN EPILOGUE

The study of various aspects in the preceding pages attempts to offer for the first time an insight into the history, culture and religion of the Kumaon people. Attempts will now be made to see how this Kumaon culture, to give it a name, compares with contemporary cultures in other parts of India.

The physical setting of the region has remained a constant barrier for the migration of people and transmission of ideas. It is a well known fact that mountains "repel population by their inaccessibility and also by thier harsh conditions of life, while the low lands attract it, both in migration and settlement." [1] Hence mountain systems present the most effective barriers which man meets on the earth.

Mountains are always regions of late occupation. Therefore, the history of such a region is generally late. "The inhospitable highlands of Switzerland, the German Alps, and the Auvergne received their first population later when the Alpine race began to occupy western Europe."[2] Owing to these high mountains Central Europe also came late into the foreground of history, "not till the Middle Ages. Even the penetrating civilization of Greece reached it only by long detours around the ends of the mountain barrier." [3]

Mountains tend to create isolation. Political dismemberment, lack of cohesion due to physical barriers impending intercourse is the inherent weakness of the mountains. Political consolidation is never voluntary. "It is always forced upon them from without, either by foreign conquest or by the constant menace of such conquest, which compels the mountain clans to combine for common defence of their freedom." [4] The history of the mountainous region is never the history of a big consolidated empire. Geography has thus played a vital role in shaping the philosophy of history of such a region. Kumaon admirably illustrates this. Its early history has nothing remarkable to offer. The later period has also little to say. Like the other regions of India Kumaon can not boast of having any ruler or dynasty of all India repute. Our study shows that there were a large number of petty chieftains constantly fighting and destroy-

1. Semple, E. C.-*Influences of Geographic Environment*, 1911, New York, p. 521.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 522.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 532.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 590.

ing each other on the slightest provocation. But this is not unusual. Like Kumaon, the regions of Kangra, western Nepal and Tibet could not have any dynasty of supreme authority and fame. In the Indian plains Maharashtra and Rajasthan in a somewhat lesser degree afford the same historical account. Outside India, we may peep a while into the history of Greece and Switzerland. The former is specially a land of mountains and small valleys. "It has few plains of even moderate size and no considerable rivers. It is therefore well adapted to be a country of separate communities, each protected against its neighbours by hilly barriers; and the history of the Greeks, a story of small independent states, could not have been wrought out in a land of dissimilar formation."[5]

Geography has even influenced the recent political outlook in India. The concept of the demand of separate small-state in different parts of India is due to the influence of geography. The natural segregation causes a feeling of disunity among people from the rest of the political unit and so they come forward very often demanding their own political entity.

As the valleys and foothills are the most habitable and important sections of mountains, it is very natural that ancient civilization is confined more in them rather than in the mountains. The valley of Bāgamati in Nepal, the Kashmir valley and the foothills of northern Himalayas have presented to us a significant evidence pertaining to the early history and culture of the mountainous regions. The foothills of Kumaon were also the hub of political activities in the beginning of the Christian era or even a little before that. Therefore, the early history of Kumaon is nothing, but the history of its foothill region.

Kumaon witnessed a political unity under the Katyuris only at the beginning of 8th century A. D. Prior to it (as briefly stated), there were several factions and chiefs of various groups controlling a small territory and invading each other even on a slight pretext. "Their quarrels generally arose out of some love, intrigue or some aggressive behaviour of the neighbours." [6] Hence the unity of the whole of Kumaon from Tons in the west to Kāli in the east was a remarkable feature of the Katyuri rule in Kumaon. To materialize the vital task of this unity, they appear to have distributed the land in various political divisions. Their records very often mention such political units as viṣaya, bhukti, pallī and grāma. It appears that the officers appointed to look after these units were finally supervised by the rulers from their capital at Kārtti-

5. Bury, J. B., *A History of Greece*, 1900, London, p. 4.
6. Gairola. (H. F.), *op. cit*, p. 18.
7. Sircar, D. C., *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 229.
8. Sankalia, *op. cit*, p. 247.

keyapura. The copper plate grants prove that the execution of deeds was completed in the presence of all the officials, who had been probably summoned to the capital at this occasion.

The downfall of Katyuris again revived the older separatist tendencies in the region. Several erstwhile petty chiefs, who had been subdued by the Katyuris, again rose up and created chaos and anarchy in Kumaon. A great need for unity was thus felt badly by the noblemen of Kumaon and they invited a prince from Jhūsi to rule over it. Though the alien dynasty could not be as much successful as the Katyuris were, their emergence brought about a change in the cultural set up of Kumaon They brought Brāhmanas and masons along with them and monuments reflecting unique grandeur were built in many parts of Kumaon. But the political conditions worsened greatly so much so that the present Garhwal and Dehradun along with some parts of western Kumaon totally severed their unity and declared independence in all respects. In Garhwal the Pālas attained strength, while in the western part of Kumaon a branch of the main Katyuri dynasty carved an independent principality.

Administration :

The records of the Katyuris testify that Kumaon did not differ at all from other parts of India, as far as the administration was concerned. It was very natural for a small-state like Kumaon to borrow the tradition from elsewhere. In north India the Guptas had done a pioneering work of framing an elaborate administrative system. Their tradition was subsequently borrowed by several ruling dynasties of India. Along with others, the Pālas also adopted almost everything of the Guptas. Their history shows that they had a supreme authority over the whole of northern India from 9th to the 12th century A. D. Dharmapāla and Devapāla had gone to Kedarnath and the assembly convoked at Kanauj by the former king was attended by the kings of Kangra and other places in north India. It appears, therefore, that the Kumaon rulers had also to accept the Pāla suzerainty for some time and adopt their administrative pattern for their own region.

Religions :

No connected account of religions and sects is available for want of political or other records. Though a few tribal dynastics like the Kuṇindas and the Yaudheyas paid reverence to the Brahmanical gods and goddess, any picture of a definite religious system is absent from the region. In the mediaeval period the catholicity among people is markedly visible, but more than anything else

there appears to be a popularity of some particular cults, such as those pertain ing to Sūrya, Śiva and Viṣṇu. However, it must be admitted that the popularity seems to have been a part of general impetus all the Brahmanical cults received during this period all over India.

The special feature of Kumaon religion is that Śaivism in its growth and development was deeply influenced by a few south Indian elements. The reasons for it are quite evident. The Purāṇas had made the Himalayas the eternal abode of Śiva. Here are situated such shrines as Badarināth, Kedarnāth and Jāgeśwar. Pilgrims from all over India, but comparatively in large number from the South, have been flocking to them from quite a remote past. Then Śankara's visit to Kumaon in about 9th century A. D. gave it a further fillip, through which the Brahmanical religion specially the Śaivism got deep rooted in its soil. Besides the revival of Hinduism, Śankara established a maṭha at Joshimath, which he named as Jyotiṣamaṭha. He then preached the efficacy of pilgrimage to Badari and Kedar along with that of Gaṅgotrī and Yamnotrī.

The contacts of Kumaon with the rest of India appear to have existed long before, but the epigraphical evidence proves that pilgrimage to the holy places had become very regular in the beginning of the Christian era.

The antiquity of pilgrimage in India is fairly long. The Mahābhārata refers to the yātrās of Arjuna and Baldeva, whereas the Kārlī Inscriptions of the Ist century A. D. refer to some of the holy places. But how far the custom is pre–Aryan or non–Aryan as suggested by Sircar [7] is difficult to ascertain. Besides the Mahābhārata, Aśoka refers to such practices in his edicts and he himself had made it a point to pay a visit regularly to places connected with the Buddha's birth and death.

The Mahābhārata refers particularly to holy Himalayas. The place was considered to be an abode of the gods, where eternal salvation could be possibly achieved. The Pāṇḍava brothers are said to have ultimately retired to the Himalayas, where from after being perished they were supposed to have reached the heaven.

Like the rest of the country, Śaivism spread in Kumaon with its several ramifications. The Pāśupatas got a stronghold and so the Lakulīśa cult was fully accepted in Kumaon's religious set–up. It is believed to have originated in Gujarat in the Ist century A. D.; and in the subsequent centuries it spread far and wide. In the early centuries of the Christian era the cult became fairly popu lar in and around the region of Mathura. In the later centuries it had a great centre in Dahla of the modern Jabalpur district. in Madhya Pradesh. In Mewar

7. Sircar, D. C., *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 229.

the cult existed in the 7th and 8th centuries and since then it has continued to flourish. [8] In Kumaon the cult appears to have come either from Mathura or Rajputana. Besides the Lakulīśa cult, the Vīraśaivas from the South might have also influenced the religious set-up of Kedārnāth, where they were stated to have established a maṭha. Thus the influence of various currents of Śaivism was so much that numerous liṅga shrines came up in almost every corner of Kumaon.

In comparison to Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism was less popular in Kumaon. However along with Kedarnāth, Badarināth equally acquired an all India importance.

Besides the worship of gods, the goddesses reached pre-eminence during the mediaeval period in Kumaon. The reason for it was that the period synchronised with the rise of a new philosophy and a new attitude towards the divine consorts in the whole of India. The speculation of this period laid the "philosophical theory that not God as such but God as associated with his power (Śakti) is responsible for the creation, maintenance and destruction of the universe, and hence the mysterious association of the supreme God with the Śakti" became an order of the day. [9]

Buddhism and Jainism, as we have seen, were not much entertained in Kumaon in compansion with the Brahmanical religions. It is a strange pheno menon that Kumaon does not have the traces of Indian Buddhism, while Nepal and Tibet with the same conditions were highly influenced by it. Though there is some evidence in the testimony of Hieun Tsang that there were a few monasteries and other Buddhist establishments in the foothills of Kumaon, the same cannot be substantiated now. Moreover, the remnants of Indian Buddhism are not at all visible in the whole region. Buddhism from Tibet had spread over some parts of Garhwal, but that too has vanished away in the unknown past. Only some scanty remains prove its existence in the region bordering Tibet. Jainism has also no early traces in Kumaon. They appear to have originated only after the 12th century A. D., when closer contacts had grown up with Gujarat and central India. From Gujarat particularly, the Jainism spread far and wide in the mediaeval period and Sankalia rightly remarks that it not only spread there "but broke its borders and spread to Malwa, Rajputana and beyond." [10]

The area around Dwārahāt in Kumaon was probably one of them to be influenced by the Jainism from Gujarat.

Epigraphy and Numismatics :

The evidences are comparatively meagre and the inscriptions of some

8. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 247.
9. Bhattacharya H. D., "The Sakti cult", *The Ag of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 336.
10. Sankalia, *op.cit.*, p. 249.

utility are very few. The development of script in Kumaon records appear to have been followed on the north Indian pattern. A few instances of the Southern variety of script and the Kuṭila of the North are there in Kumaon records. The reason for variation in the inscriptions was due to Kumaon's everlasting importance in religious field.

Besides the script, the style in the praśastis closely resemble the Pāla grants from Bengal.

The coin-series from Kumaon have no special features, though a few local ones have already been pointed out.

Fine Arts and Sculpture :

In fine arts, we have no materials belonging to the early period to compare with those of other parts of India. But the late 18th–19th century witnessed the artistic renaissance in Kumaon. The Pahāri painters excelled in the execution of drawing connected with secular life or religion. The chief artist among them was Molā Ram (1760–1833),[11] who enjoyed a considerable amount of patronage at the court of Tehri Garhwal. Besides him, there were two other artists of fame—Chaitu and Māṇaku,—who were probably employed in making a pictorial translations of the great Hindu classics and rendering the stirring episodes, "through the medium of line and colour." [12] Chaitu and Māṇaku have left several interesting paintings. The former's "the Rape of Yadava Women" may be taken as one of the first-rate pictures of his age. Besides, the portrayal of Rukmiṇī-pariṇaya (the wedding of Rukmiṇī), "the Immolation of Sati", exhibit all the characteristic traits of Chaitu's art. [13]

Māṇaku was essentially a landscape-painter as revealed in "the sumptuousness of his warm colour schemes." [14] Molā Ram, besides his artistic genius, was a prolific writer and wrote poems, which have historical bearing on the contemporary history of Garhwal.

These painters are supposed to have migrated from the plains. Suleman Shikoh, who had to take refuge in the court of Garhwal was accompanied by his men including his personal painters. Shyam Das is regarded to be the progenitor of Molā Ram's family. The two other painters appear to have been related to Molā Ram. Like Kumaon, Kangra also gave refuge to political fugitives of this type and under the patronage of Rājā Sansār Chand, Kangra painters also contributed even more valuable paintings. Thus in collaboration with Garh-

11. Mehta, N. C.—*Studies in Indian Painting*, Bombay, 1926, p. 48.

12. *Ibid.*, (about Māṇaku's place of birth and his stay there are disagreements in later writers).

13. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

14. *Ibid.*, (Mukundi Lal's latest book on Garhwal paintings deals with the subject elaborately.

wal school of paintings, a new school was created which is known in a broader sense as the 'Pahāri School' of paintings.

In the field of fine arts thus Kumaon has something significant to offer to India.

Kumaon sculpture does not afford a chronological sequence, which we notice in other parts of India. Early sculptures are totally absent from Kumaon. But whatever has survived of the Katyuri and Chand periods is not at all inferior to the contemporary art of India. It must be said that Kumaon sculpture after the 8th century onwards turns up with several varieties and forms. Though Kumaon cannot strictly claim to have any sculpture of regional value, a few Brahmanical sculptures, such as the Visvarūpa form of Viṣṇu, a seated Surya and a few Lakulīśa sculptures may be regarded as Kumaon's contribution to Indian sculpture and iconography.

Architecture :

In the field of architecture also, there are no early remains to compare with the monuments of other parts of India. In the later period, however, Kumaon does not lag behind. It does not only go forward along with its neighbours, but adopts several noteworthy styles, which are important from the point of view of architectural history.

As described already, there are a few unique temples at Jāgeśwar, Joshīmath, Pāṇḍukeśvar and Bhetā. Their stylistic pattern presents totally a different and wholly uncommon picture. Especially the two shrines at Pāṇḍukeśvar are important, and it may be said that they contribute something new to the Nāgara type of temples in India.

Kumaon is full of temples. One unique feature of the region is that a large number of monuments are confined to the foothill region.[15] It apears that the inspiration in the field of art and architecture also got a ready absorption in the lower ridges rather than in the higher altitudes, where Badarināth and Kedārnāth are the only exceptions.

Though the architecture has been fully studied in the preceding pages, a few shrines of late period are worthy of description. The most important among them are the two shrines of Badarinath and Kedarnath, which, though architecturally late, are of all India character. Besides them, there are a few more at Kālimath, Nālā, Ukhimath, Gupta Kāshī, Dewalgarh and Śrīnagar. They present to us some of the earlier remnants in their architectural display.

15. See map No. 3.

The temple of Kedārnāth (fig. 28) from its exterior appearance exhibits some late characteristics of c. 17 century A. D., but some other evidences in the garbha-griha and maṇḍapa prove that the temple was built as long back as the 10th or 11th century A. D. It is stated by Sankrityayan that the garbha-griha walls contain inscriptions which may be roughly assigned to 10th century A. D. Though the present evidence could not be verified,[16] the personal observation of the sculptural representation on garbha-gṛiha doorway is significant. The sculptural panels depicting Śiva in his various dispositions present characteristic traits of c. 10-11th century A. D.

Therefore, it appears that the temple was initially built by the Katyuris and later on by the Rājās of Garhwal. Though we are able to point out its subsequent periods of repair, it may, however, be added that pilgrims arriving from different parts of the country might have made liberal donations for its repairs and maintenance.

The shrine of Badarināth in its present shape appears to be considerably late. It cannot be said as to what would have been its original plan and shape. Whatever it might have been, the devastating landslides and repeated avalanches have totally changed its older form.

Besides these two shrines, the temples at Kālimath are worthwhile to be described. The temples in their original lay-out had totally imitated the stylistic pattern of the Lakuliśa and Naṭarāja shrines at Jāgeśwar and those of the two small shrines at Bhetā. Nevertheless, the eminent stepped arrangement on the śikhara has become more or less inconspicuous because of repeated repairs. Hence the temples in their present appearance may be placed in c. 16-17th century A. D.

Other monuments at various places of Garhwal exhibit almost all the late characteristics. Nevertheless, the shrine at Dewalgarh particularly exhibits the extension of rathas upwards beyond the neck course. This may very well be taken as an earlier trait in the shrine.

From our study, it is deduced that Kumaon have had different cultural phases from the early historical period till the 15th century A. D. Though Kumaon had remained receptive in all the periods, the progress of the land was very well marked after the 9th century onwards. Kumaon was frequently visited by people in their various missions. Some were political adventurists, while others as fugitives. But the popularity of pilgrimage to Badarī and

16. The authorities at Kedarnath were reluctant to help the present writer during his visit there in 1961. Therefore, many details inside the garbha-gṛiha and maṇḍapa including the iconography of five life-size statues could not be studied properly.

Kedār attracted several savants and spiritual preceptors to visit this Himalayan region and leave a deep impress on the political, cultural and religious life of the people there. This resulted in a gradual enlightenment of the whole region.

In the end, it may be noted that though Kumaon borrowed almost all the noble ideas from the Indian plains, it did also contribute something to the neighbouring lands. The small śikhara shrines of stepped arrangement at Nirmand,[17] a place adjacent to Tehri Garhwal and a few śikhara shrines at Jhelli in the Western Nepal[18] remind us of the stylistic pattern of Kumaon temples, particularly those at Jāgeśwar and Bhetā.

This indicates that Kumaon blossomed various cultural flowers from time to time and in its turn enlightened the adjacent lands always keeping closer contacts with the Indian plains.

17. Francke, *op. cit.*, Pl. III figs. a and b.

18. Tucci, *op. cit.*, figs. 40–43.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. I.,	Ancient India.
A. S. I., A. R.,	Archaeological Survey of India Annual Reports.
A. P. R., N. C.,	Annual Progress Report Northern Circle.
B. B. M.	Bulletin of Baroda Museum.
B. V.,	Bharatiya Vidya.
B. D. C. R.I.,	Bulletin of Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute.
B. P. W, M.,	Bulletin of Prince of Wales Museum.
C. I. I.,	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
E. I.,	Epigraphia Indica.
E. N. P. J. N. S.,	Edinborough New Philosophical Journal, New Series.
I. A.,	Indian Antiquary.
I. G. I.,	Imperial Gazetteer of India.
I. H. Q.,	Indian Historical Quarterly.
I. W.,	Illustrated Weekly.
I. A. R.,	Indian Archaeology—A Review.
J. U. P. H. S.,	Journal of U. P. Historical Society.
J. O. I.,	Journal of Oriental Institute, Baroda.
J. O. R. M.,	Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
J. I, M.,	Journal of Indian Museum.
J. I. S. O. A.,	Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art.
J. B. B. R. A. S.,	Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.
J. A. S. B.,	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. N, S. I.,	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
J, R. A, S.,	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society.
J. M. I. P.,	Journal of Madhya Pradesh Itihas Parishad.
J, U. B.,	Journal of University of Bombay.
P, I. H. C.,	Proceedings of Indian History Congress.
S, B. E.,	Sacred Books of the East.

APPENDIX—A

After the completion of this book, a few important aspects pertaining to this region have been brought to light. The first in this category is the excavation at Kashipur, which took place under the auspices of the Northern Circle, Archaeological Survey of India (see *IAR* 1965–66). The site was taken up earlier for excavation as far back as 1939–40 by Shri Krishna Deva of the Archaeological Survey of India with the co-operation of Shri Rameshwar Dayal, S. D. M. at Kashipur. Shri Krishna Deva succeeded in tracing some brick walls along with a quantity of terracotta figurines. Later on in 1960 the present author explored the site (see pp. 13 and 38) and found several important evidences.

With variable data to hand, the excavation in 1965 by Dr. Y. D. Sharma was taken up with a limited objective in view, viz. to expose and ascertain the nature of the building hidden under the main mound.

The excavation revealed the southern wall of a structure, which appeared to be of a temple. The wall built of burnt bricks has graceful mouldings with delicate employment of seven chaitya–windows and pilasters. It measures 29. 5 m. long and 5. 95 m. high fiom the foundation. The northern wall was also exposed a little. On stylistic ground the temple is assigned a period between 6th to 8th centuries. A. D.

Yet the potsherds including the Painted Grey ware found during excavation certainly take its history back to a few centuries.

Another excavation was conducted during 1967–68 by Shri S. P. Dabral in the vicinity of Tarai region in Kotdwara, District Garhwal. The excavation results appearing in a news item point to the discovery of material culture ranging roughly from first century A. D. to the Gupta period. Detailed report of this excavation is yet awaited.

Yet still more, we have been able to get an evidence of a Buddhist monastery from Rishikesh. Shri M. N. Deshpande, Joint D. G. A. in Archaeological Survey of India inspected a site at Rishikesh (see *IAR* 1963–64 p. 45). A structure rising up to a height of about 1. 22 to 1. 50 m. was found here. The supposition of its being a part of some Buddhist monastery was confirmed by the discovery of wedge–shaped bricks, probably used in the construction of a stūpa or the apsidal end of a chaitya hall. The size of other bricks used in the construction was 36 x 21 x 6 cm. The associated pottery was dull red ware assignable to the early centuries of the Christian era.

The above excavations and discoveries are significant in the sense that they are the first scientific forwarding steps pointing out an early historical background of Kumaon and Garhwal Divisions including that of Dehradun District.

APPENDIX—B

A dhwaja–stambha before a Śiva shrine at Uttar Kāshī contained an inscription. Unfortunately, it slipped from the author's examination. The inscription was first discovered by Shri C. M. Virabhadra Sarma of Secunderabad in 1938–39.

The pillar is called Śakti–stambha in the inscription and was erected to commemorate the victories of the ruler Guha. Shri S. Srikantha Sāstri propounded that the inscription is engraved in "late Gupta characters of about the sixtth century, but earlier than the Banskhera grants of Harṣa". The language of this inscription is Sanskrit and the Kāvya style is reminiscent of the A. P. I. of Samudra Gupta and the Mehrauli Iron pillar inscription (see New Indian Antiquary, vol. III, No I, April 1949, pp 34–36).

This ruler Guha is the son of Vanajādhīpa Gaṇeśwara, who went to Sumeru with a cheerful mind. After him his son erected this Śakti–stambha (pillar) in front of Śambhu, to frustrate the ambition of his enemies.

These two names are new to the long line of rulers from Garhwal and Kumaon. From an inscription found at Lākhāmaṇḍal (see p. 39), we come across a name Guheśa who had ruled around Lākhāmaṇḍal in cir. 5th century A. D. As Guha and Guheśa sound almost identical names and as their respective inscriptions roughly belong to the same period, it may be assumed that Guha or Guheśa were the names of one particular ruler of some indigenous hill dynasty, who had ruled over the entire tract of Uttarkāshī and Lākhāmaṇḍal in about 5th–6th century A. D.

The name Gaṇeśwara, also a name of Śiva used in the Mahābhārata, does not at all exist elsewhere in any inscription either from Garhwal or Lākhāmaṇḍal. What was the reason of this discrepancy cannot be pointed out at the present state of our knowledge. Shri Sastri has propounded that Gaṇeśwara was probably one of the Āṭavika rulers mentioned in Samudra Gupta's A. P. I., whose ancestors might have paid allegiance to the Guptas. The view remains tentative unless some fresh material throws further light on this ruler.

APPENDIX—C

Meanwhile Shri R. C. Agrawala of the National Museum, New Delhi, has thoroughly studied the wooden panels from Kaṭārmal, which are now in the above Museum. Shri Agrawala has pointed out elaborate elements in those panels, which the present writer could not do for want of proper photographs and due to other inpediments at the time of the completion of this work.

Shri Agrawala has propounded his views about figures and designs on the doorway panels and pillars (see R. C. Agrawala : Unpublished Kaṭārmal Wooden Reliefs in the National Museum, New Delhi and connected Problems, *East and West*, Vol. 17. pp. 83–95, 1967). Regarding a figure on the wooden pillar, which was taken to be of Sūrya By D. R. Sahni, Agrawala suggests him to be of the builder of that particular temple and not of Sūrya. Though the figure does not carry out in a strict sense the elements of Sūrya iconography, the dagger hanging on the flat girdle (belt) is a typical trait of Sūrya images; also noticed in one of the illustrated Sūrya sculptures from Dwārahāt (see p. 179, fig. 80). The figure does not hold lotus stalks and nor there is any evidence of the boots, because the legs are totally disintegrated. However, the right hand held above indicates a posture of holding some object, very probably a lotus stalk, which has also disappeared now.

It cannot be a builder of the temple for the simple reason that the temple was dedicated to *Budhāditya* or *Vṛidhāditya*–a title for Sūrya. Secondly, nowhere from Kumaon and Garhwal we have any evidence of the image of a donor or builder carved out on the front pillars or doorway. It is always the figure of a deity, to whom the temple is dedicated and none else.

It, therefore, appears that the present figure probably represented Sūrya and not the builder of the temple as suggested by Agrawala.

Besides this, the pillars are full of designs of the nāgas (serpent) and makaras (crocodiles) having round artistic floral tails reminding us very characteristically the portrayal of this motif in early Indian art.

The door is also profusely carved with four panels in each compartments (see fig. 15 A). Besides gods and goddesses inside the panels, the door is tastefully decorated with rows of "maṅgalaghaṭas placed one over the other" (Agrawala), the lotus creeper and the fully bloomed lotus and its half roundels. The musicians inside the lotus medallions playing on long pipes are really interesting. The instrument appears to be composite, for both of his hands are holding each of the pipes. What was this instrument is merely a matter of speculation. Agrawala has simply called them long pipes and has pointed out

their similarity with the type found in the wooden door frames at Ter, Osmanabad, A. P. The similarity cannot be justified, for the Ter ones are the usual single *tūryas* (pipes) commonly found in many stone architectural friezes from Gujarat, Rajasthan and central India. The Kaṭārmal pipes appear to be some sort of a modern *Sanāi (Shahnāi)*, in which case also two to three bamboo contrivances are used now for bringing ascending and descending notes in the rhythm. It appears that the earlier forom of this instrument was somewhat like this, having two pipes in composite form or separately, which were held by musician in his two hands, so that rythmic symphony of this instrument may be easily regulated and enchanting melodies produced. Later on gradually it has probably changed its shape remaining a single pipe, but carrying small bamboo accessories with it. The same idea of resonation of a musical tune with the help of two pipes had probably originated the famous composite flute found in the northern gateway of Sanchi Stūpa (see *Bhilsa Topes : A Buddhist Monument of Central India* by A. Cunningham, PL. XIII). This instrument had also evolved in course of time and Dhavalikar has rightly pointed out its use even today throughout northern India with its new name Algojyā (Dhavalikar, M. K. : *Sanchi A cultural Study*, p. 67).

Inside various doorway panels there are gods sometimes with their consorts. Bhairava in his Saṁhāra form is very interesting and so is Agni with his consort.

Virāṭarūpa Viṣṇu :—

The cult of Viṣṇu incarnated as Vaikuṇṭha has been referred to in the Mahābhārata. The cult had originated in Kashmir in about 10th century A. D. and was described sometimes as Kāshmīrāgama. But more than this the evidence of the cult having its roots in Garhwal and Kumaon is clearly discernible from the Khajuraha inscription of Yaśovarmmadeva of V. S. 1011 (see E. I. Vol. I. p. 129 verse : 93, by Kielhorn, F.). It says that "the lord of Bhoṭa obtained the image (Vaikuṇṭha) from Kailāsa and from him Sāhi, the king of Kirā received it as a token of friendship, from him afterwards Heramba-pāla obtained it for force of elephants and horses and Yaśovarman, the Chandella king, received it from Devapāla, the lord of horses, the son of Herambapāla." This statement leads us to surmise that the territories around Kailāś and Mānasarovar and probably also the Vadarī and Kedār were under some sort of influence of this cult in the 10th century A. D. (see pp. 157–62 and author's article : Two Enchanting Icons, *Kumaon Souvenir*, pp. 31–38, 1968)

INDEX

I gratefully acknowledge the help of Sarvashri D. L. Rajput and A. K. Mavlankar in the preparation of this index. For any omission and commission, however, I alone am responsible.

B

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H

N

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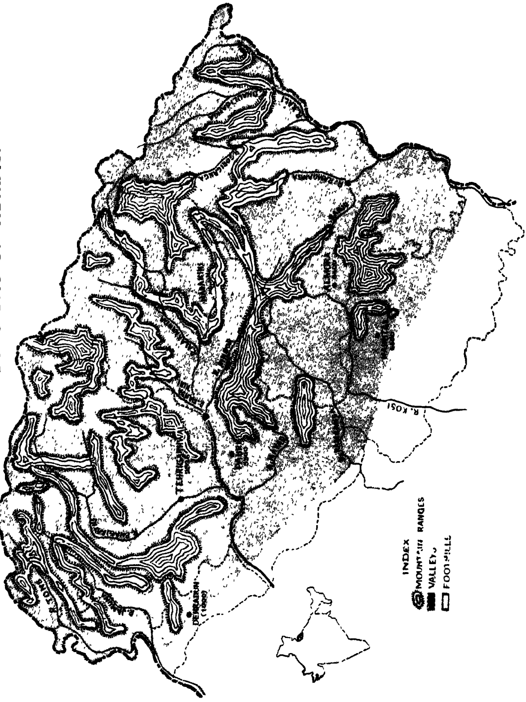
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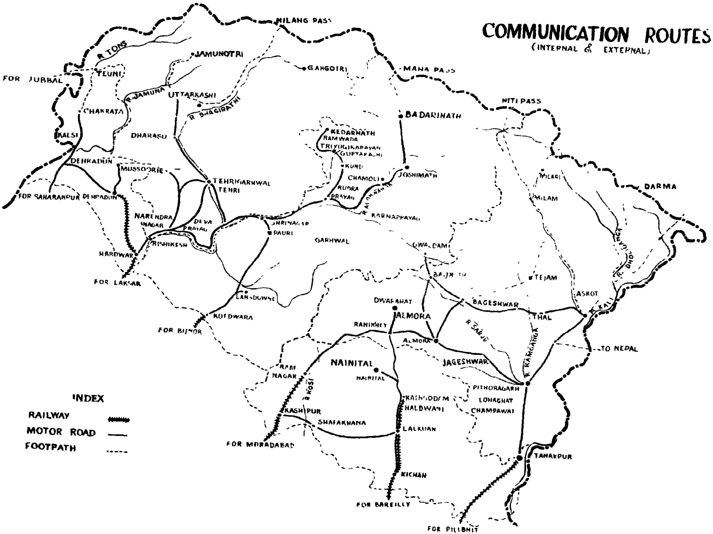
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21	1	Komaon	Kumaon
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41	8	antecedants	antecedents
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56	no.	65	56
70	5	invesion	invasion
81	31	architecture	architrave
97	8	Rkshasa	Rākshasa
103	4 f. n.	Goets	Goetz
110	30	serpant	serpent
112	19	last	least
136	22	on	an
141	28	hed	had
143	2	Scuptured	Sculptured
143	25	pedastol	pedestal
145	14	bydy	body
148	1	pedastal	pedestal
149	15	immitation	imitation
162	4	the Baijnath	Baijnāth
162	34	immitated	imitated
166	28	theshoulders	the shoulders
166	34	allover	all over
169	8	Garwal	Garhwal
169	13	bannana	banana
173	28	Six-headed	Four-headed
177	25	Rajanī	Rājñī
178	6	in ability	inability
183	12 f. n.	poltical	political
226	15	obseravations	observations
227	9	Govil	Goril
258	13	Ktyuri	Katyūri

PLATES

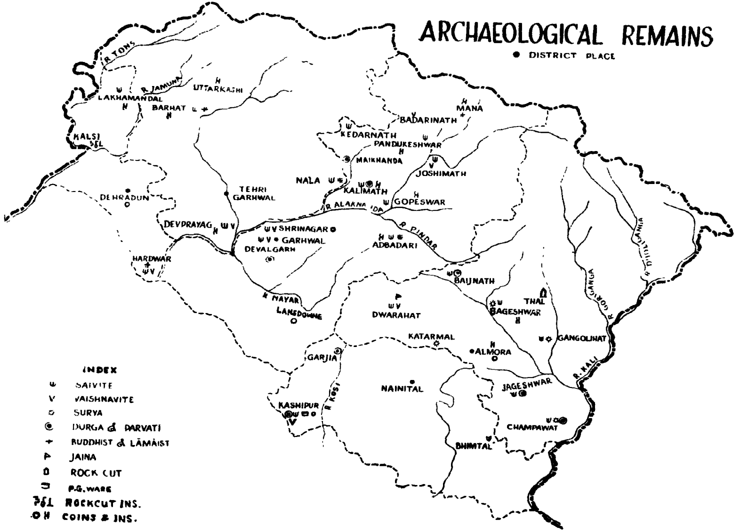
PHYSICAL DIVISIONS OF KUMAON

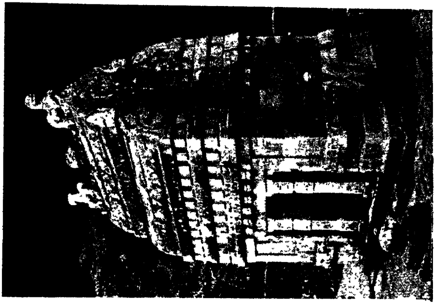


MAP 2


COMMUNICATION ROUTES
(INTERNAL & EXTERNAL)
NILANG PASS
MANA PASS
NITI PASS
DARMA
R TONS
FOR JUBBAL
TEUNI
JAMUNOTRI
GANGOTRI
R JAMUNA
UTTARKASHI
R BHAGIRATHI
CHAKRATA
KALSI
DHARASU
BADARINATH
KEDARNATH
RAMWADA
TRIYUGINARAYAN
GUPTAKASHI
KUND
CHAMOLI
JOSHIMATH
RUDRA
PRAYAG
KARNAPRAYAG
MILAM
DEHRADUN
MUSSOORIE
TEHRIGARHWAL
TEHRI
FOR SAHARANPUR
NARENDRA
NAGAR
DEVA
PRAYAG
RISHIKESH
HARDWAR
FOR LAKSAR
PAURI
GARHWAL
GWALDAM
TEJAM
ASKOT
R KALI
LANSDOWNE
KOTDWARA
FOR BIJNOR
DWARAHAT
ALMORA
BAGESHWAR
THAL
RANIKHET
R SARJU
R RAMGANGA
TO NEPAL
NAINITAL
JAGESHWAR
RAM
NAGAR
R KOSI
PITHORAGARH
LOHAGHAT
CHAMPAWAT
HALDWANI
KASHIPUR
SHAFAKHANA
LALKUAN
FOR MORADABAD
TANAKPUR
KICHHA
FOR BAREILLY
FOR PILIBHIT
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RAILWAY
MOTOR ROAD
FOOTPATH

MAP 3

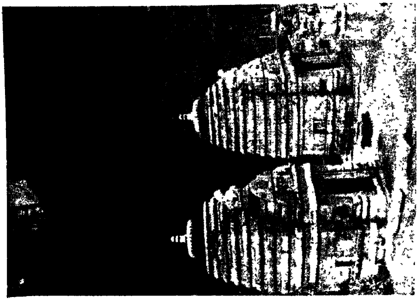

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS
● DISTRICT PLACE
R. TONS
R. JAMUNA
UTTARKASHI
LAKHAMANDAL
BARHAT
KALSI
DEHRADUN
DEVPRAYAG
HARDWAR
TEHRI GARHWAL
NALA
KEDARNATH
BADARINATH
MANA
PANDUKESHWAR
MAIKHANDA
JOSHIMATH
KALIMATH
GOPESWAR
R. ALAKNANDA
SHRINAGAR
GARHWAL
DEVALGARH
R. PINDAR
ADBADARI
R. NAYAR
LANSDOWNE
BAIJNATH
THAL
BAGESHWAR
DWARAHAT
KATARMAL
GANGOLIHAT
ALMORA
GARJIA
R. KOSI
KASHIPUR
NAINITAL
JAGESHWAR
CHAMPAWAT
BHIMTAL
R. KALI
R. GORIGANGA
R. DHAULIGANGA
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VAISHNAVITE
SURYA
DURGA & PARVATI
BUDDHIST & LĀMAIST
JAINA
ROCK CUT
P.G. WARE
ROCKCUT INS.
COINS & INS.



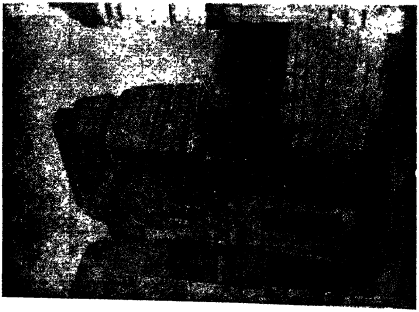
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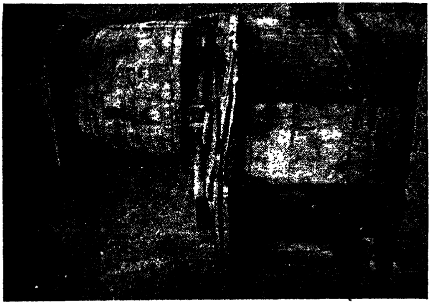
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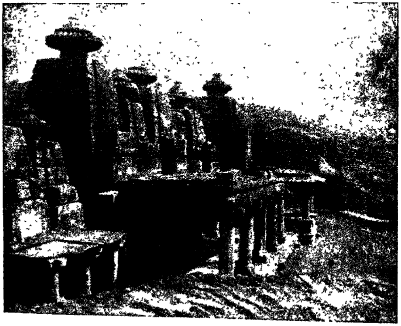
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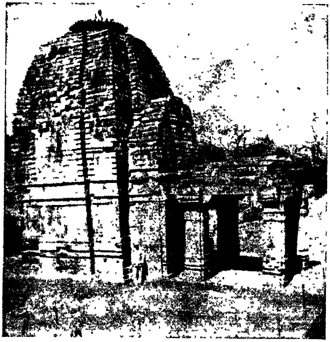
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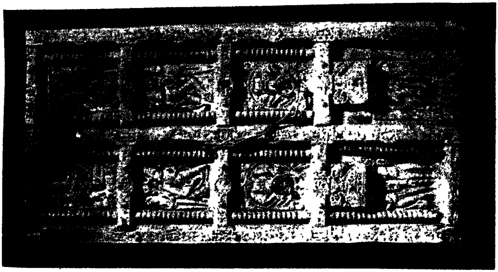
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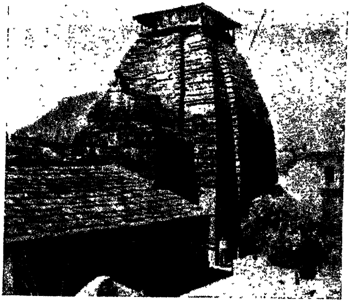
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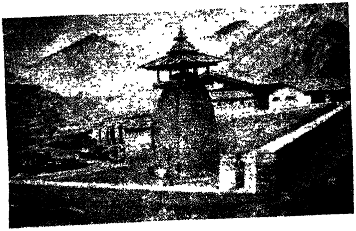
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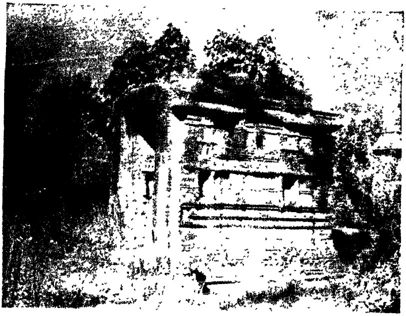
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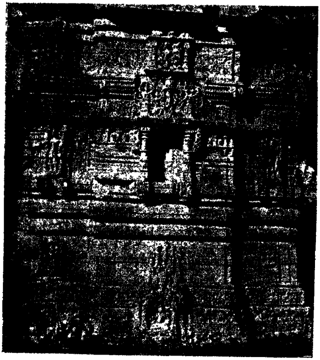
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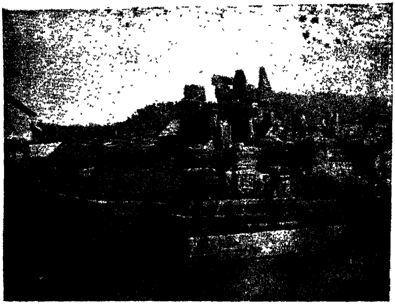
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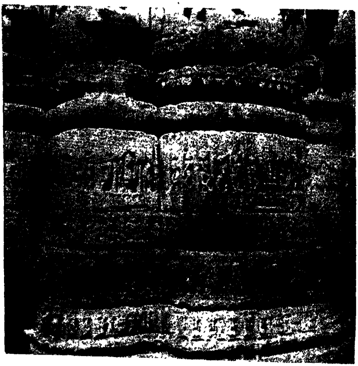
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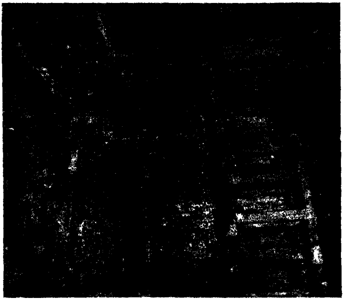
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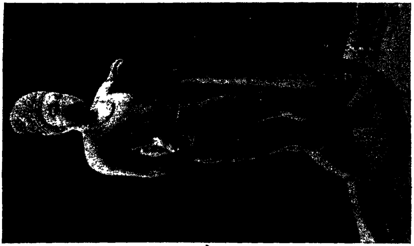
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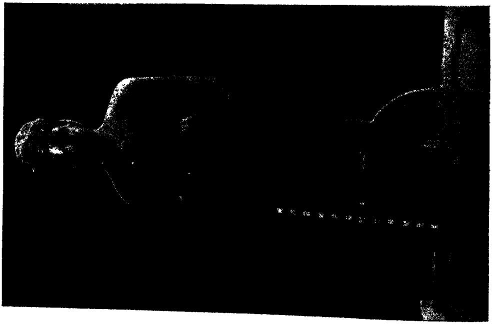
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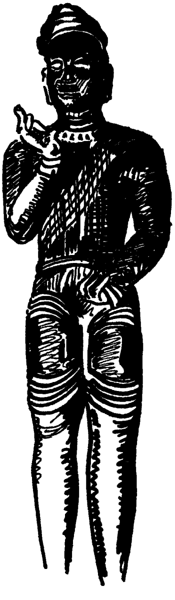
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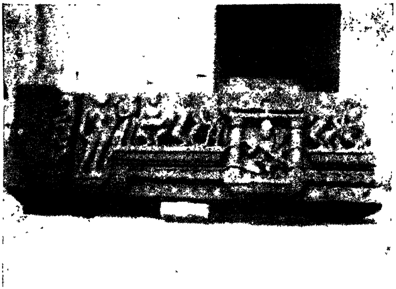
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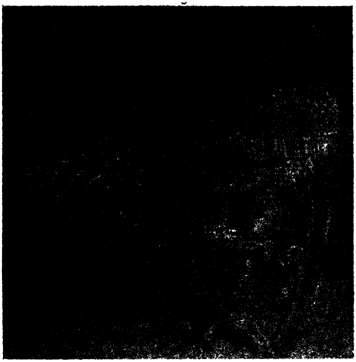
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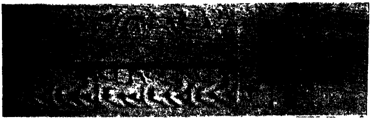
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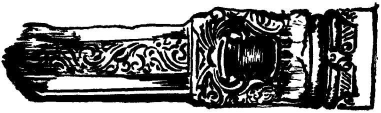
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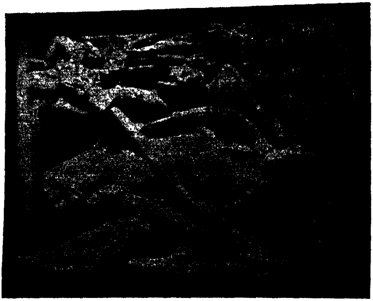
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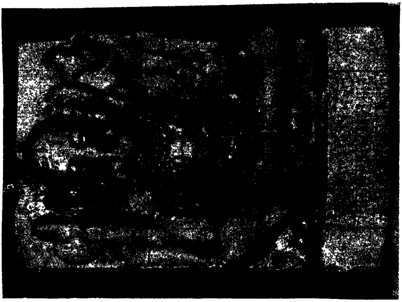
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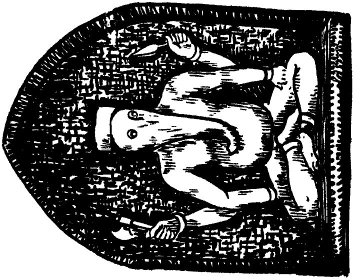
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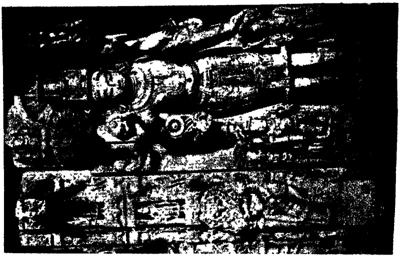
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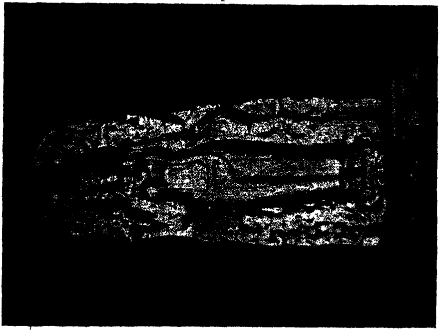
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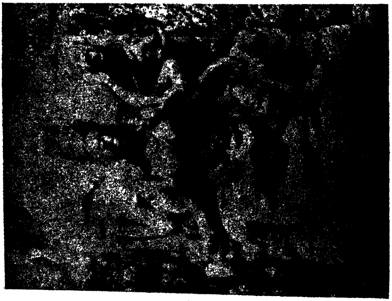
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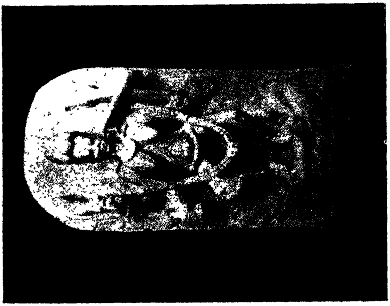
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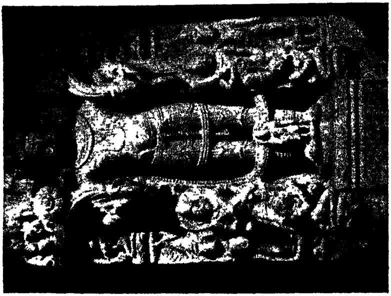
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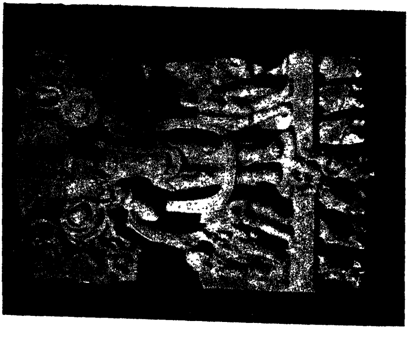
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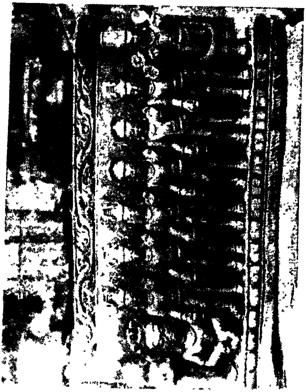
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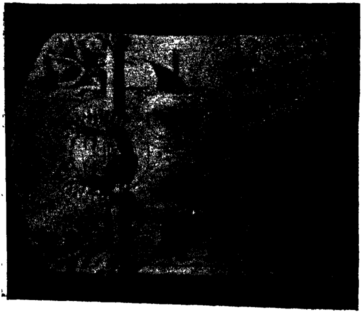
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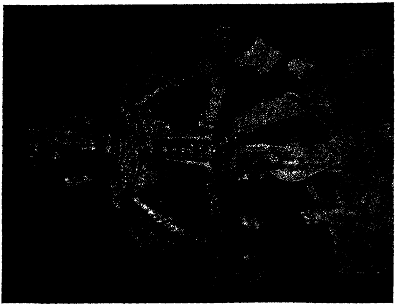
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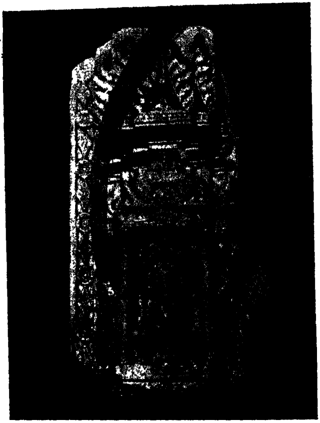
83



86



85



87

Plan of Jages'var Temple

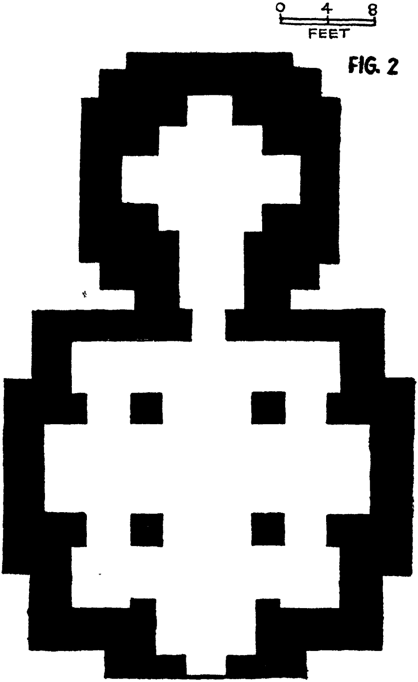
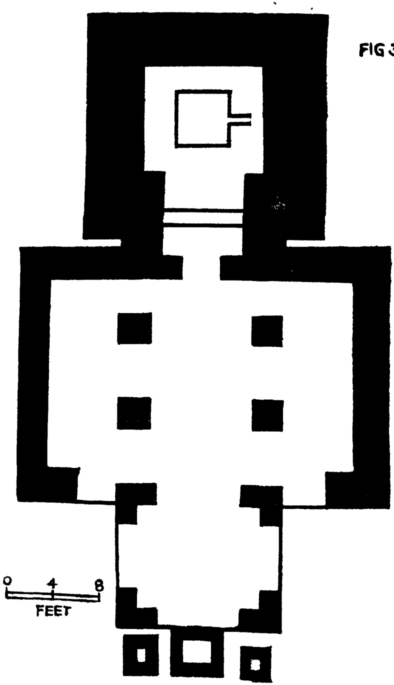


FIG. 2

Plan of Mrityunjaya Temple

FIG 3

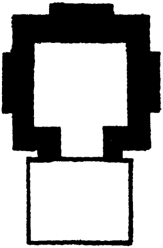




Plan of Navadurga Temple



FIG 4



Plan of Kedaresvar Temple

'Plan of Nataraj Temple

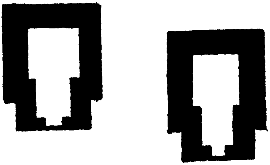
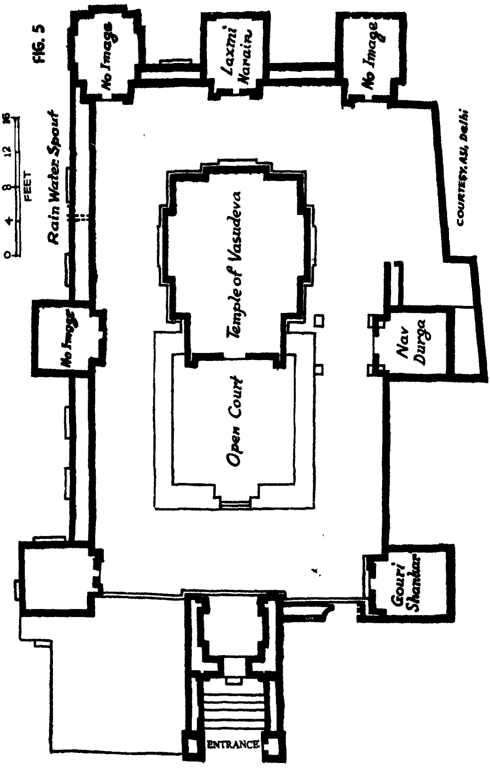


FIG. 5



Plan of Vasu Deva Temple with subsidiary Shrines

Plan of Mrityunjaya Temple Dwarahat

0 5 10
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FIG. 6

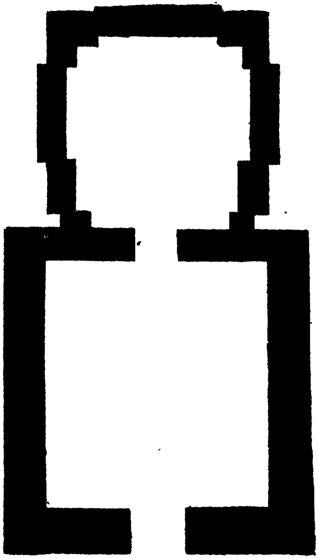
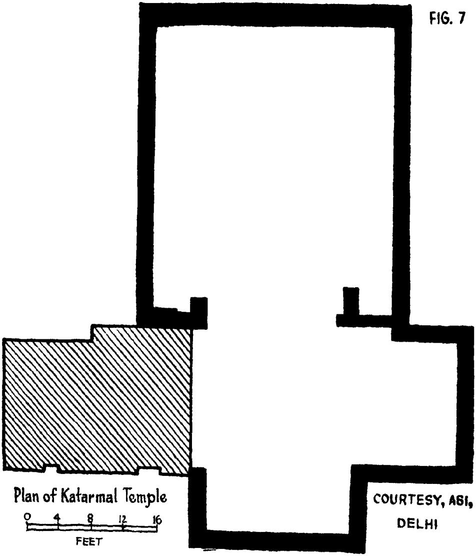


FIG. 7



Plan of Katarmal Temple

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Plan of Gujar Deva Temple Dwarahat

FIG. 8

